# HISTORICAL VIEWS

OF

# DEVONSHIRE.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

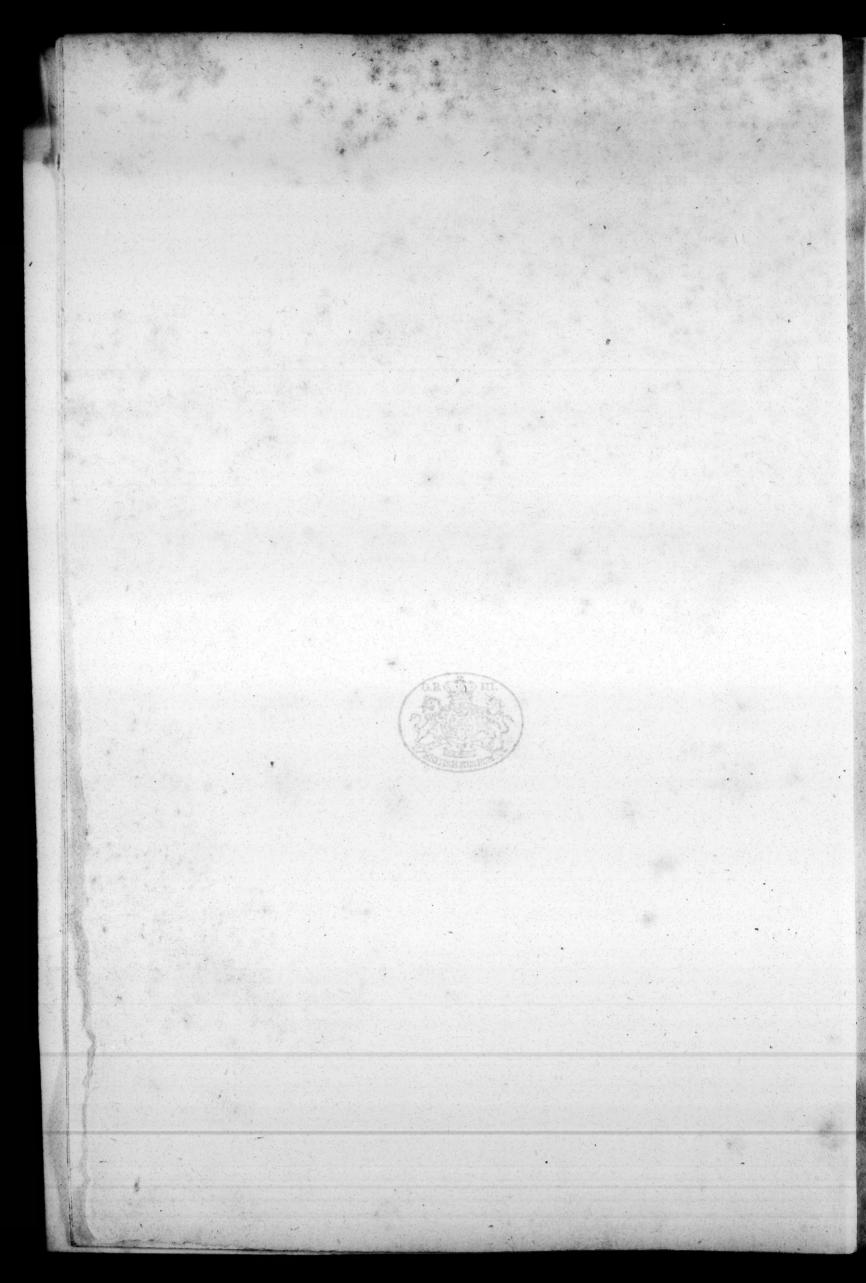
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EXETER:

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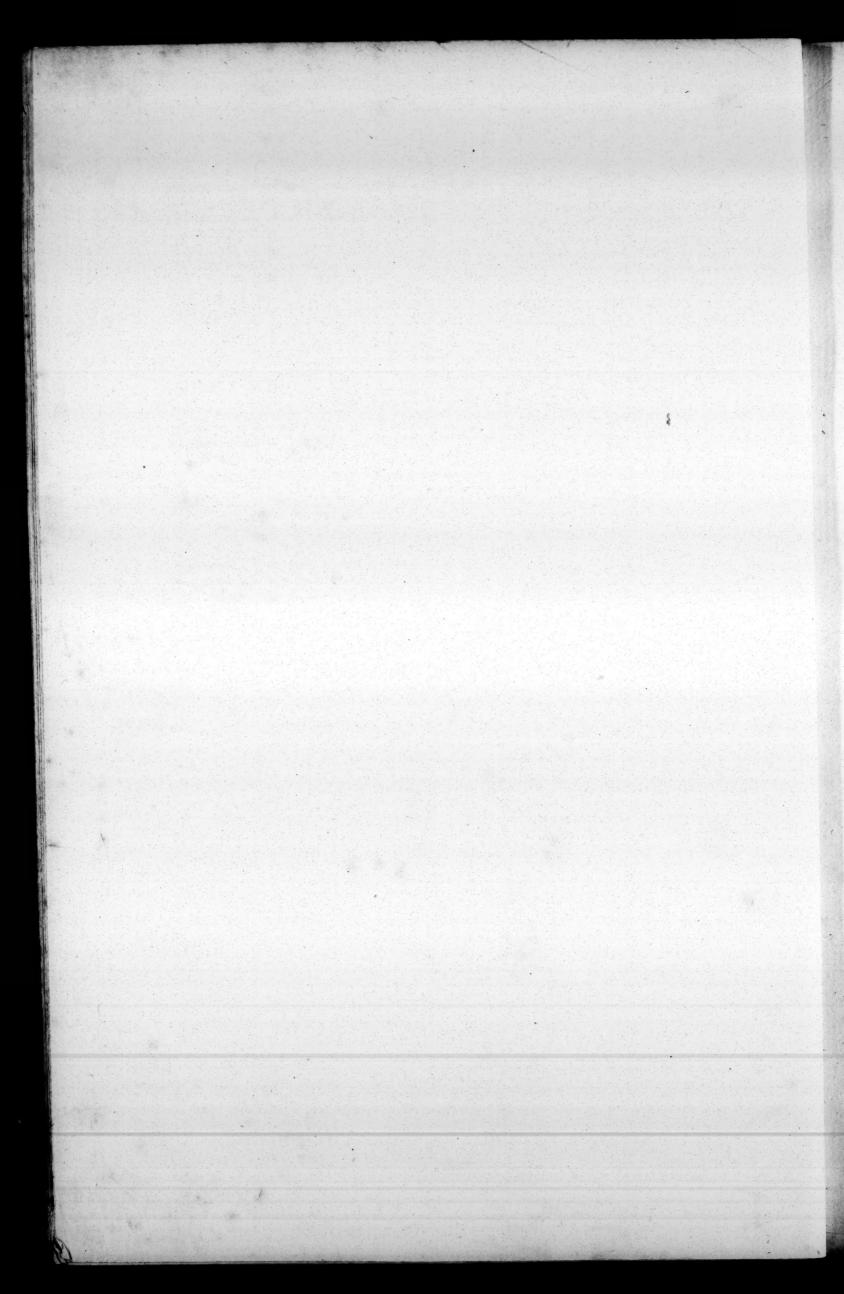
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CONTAINING A GREAT VARIETY OF CURIOUS PAPERS.

POSTSCRIPT.





# HISTORICAL VIEWS

OF

# DEVONSHIRE.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

# THE BRITISH PERIOD:

From the First Settlements in Danmonium, to the Arrival of Julius CESAR,

FIFTY - FIVE YEARS BEFORE CHRIST.

Vor. I.



# HISTORICAL VIEWS OF DEVONSHIRE.

# CHAPTER I.

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VIEW of the INHABITANTS of DANMONIUM, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

1. Emigrators from the East, settling in Devon—Said by the Saxon Chronicle to be Armenians—Passage from the Saxon Chronicle—First Settlements in the Southams—Opposite opinions of Carte, Borlase, and Whitaker—Extract from Casar—Period of the Eastern Emigrations—III. A second Colony—Phenicians.—III. A third Colony—Greeks.—IV. Other settlers from the continent of Europe—the Belga—the Cimbri—the Carnabii.

THE original fettlements of countries, and particularly of those which lie at the most remote distances from the spot whence all the generations of mankind issued, are commonly enveloped in a cloud that the keenest eye cannot penetrate. But this obscurity naturally awakens curiofity; and conjecture will, of course, step in to relieve it. Here opens a spacious field for the wanderings of the imagination, especially if it descry some glimmering light of history to direct its researches. By whom this island was first peopled, and at what period, and where and in what manner the fubfequent colonifts of Britain formed their settlements, till the invasion of Julius Cæsar, are points, which, though they have long exercised the ingenuity of historians, are, after every discussion, still ambiguous. That a writer, therefore, who seems to be confined by his subject within the limits of a particular province, should enter into the general question of the original peopling of the island, dark and involved as it confessedly is, might be attributed, at first fight, to a daring spirit fond of encountering difficulties, which to avoid, would incur no censure, but which to meet, would be impertinent and hazardous. Yet it will appear, in the course of the present chapter, that not to notice those early antiquities in a History of Devonshire, would be an unpardonable omission; since they are chiefly applicable to this very spot. And not only in Devonshire, but in the South of Devonshire, we may discover, perhaps, some traces of the original colonization of the island. That the Aborigines of Britain came from the neighbouring continent of Gaul, is the commonly-received opinion: But it has likewife been maintained, on no improbable grounds, that our primitive Colonists emigrated from the East before the existence of the European or Continental fettlers.

And this is the Hypothefis, which, from its connexion with Devonshire, feems to claim,

at least, a cursory attention.

That the original inhabitants of Danmonium were of eastern origin, and, in particular, were Armenians, is a position which may, doubtless, be supported by some shew of authority. But, whilst I assert, that our first Colonists were of eastern origin, I do not intend to deny what I conceive cannot be denied, that all Europe was peopled by emigrations from the east: I mean only to draw a line of distinction between the Aborigines of this country, who came from the east by sea, and settled at once in Britain, and those tribes who came from the east by land, and gradually spread over the continent.

That this distinction is not fanciful, may possibly appear, hereafter, from the religion of our first colonists, as well as their language, their manners, and usages, and several other particulars, in which they bore not the least resemblance to the Celtic race that peopled Europe: With the Celtic race, indeed, they had no communication; and to

the Celtic race they were not known.

In the mean time, let us consider the testimony of one of our chronicles, which speaks to the point of the Armenian emigration. The Saxon Chronicle positively afferts, that "the original inhabitants of Britain came from Armenia, and that they seated themselves in the south-west part of the island:" (a) The same Chronicle next records "the arrival"

(a) "In bac insula—Britannia—sunt quinque nationes; Anglica, Britannica seu Wallica, Scotica, Pictica et Latina. Primi bujus terræ incolæ fuere Britanni, qui ex Armenia prosecti, in Australi parte Britanniæ primum sedem posuerunt. Postea contigit, Pictos ex Australi parte Scytbiæ, longis navibus, baud ita multis, advectos, ad Hiberniæ septentrionales partes primum appulisse, ac a Scotis petisse, ut ibi babitare sibi liceret. Ceterum iis veniam dare nolebant; respondent autem Scoti: Possumus nibilo secius, consilio vos juvare. Aliam novimus insulam binc ad orientem, ubi (si visum suerit) babitare possitis; et si quispiam armit

of the South-Scythians, by fea, in long ships, whom the Scoti in Ireland declined receiving, but advised their settling in Scotland-which they did: And afterwards the Scoti of

Ireland intermarried, and were variously connected with this people.

The Saxon Chronicle is faid to have been written by a monk, at Lincoln: And fimilar chronicles were kept by the most learned monks in several monasteries throughou the The monk of Lincoln feems to have been well informed: And there is no more reason to dispute the authority of the passage before us, than that of any other part of the book. For it is not a conjecture: It is not hazarded as an opinion: It is a positive affertion and relation of an event, as a thing generally known and understood to be true. The only doubt that can be thrown upon this passage, must arise from a note in Bishop Gibson's edition of the Chronicle, in which a different reading is suggested, and the word Armorica substituted for Armenia: And Bede is quoted as authorizing the conjecture. (a)

armis restiteri', nos vobis subveniemus, quo eam expugnare valeatis. Tum solvebant Picti, et hanc terram a parte boreali ingressi sunt: Australia enim Britones occupaverant, uti antea diximus. Tum Picti sibi a parte boreali ingressi sunt; Australia enim Britones occupaverant, uti antea diximus. uxores a Scotis impetrabant, ea conditione, ut suam regalem prosapiam semper a parte seminea eligerent; quem mo em longe postea servarunt. Contigit deinde, annorum decursu, Scotorum aliquos ex Hibernia profestos in Britanniam, bujus terræ partem aliquem expugnasse. Dux autem eorum Reoda vocabatur—a que ipsi disti sunt Dælreodi." Saxon Chron. (Gibson's Edit. Oxford, 1692.) p. 1, 2.

(a) "It appears to me (fays a correspondent) that ARMENIA has here been substituted for ARMORICA. Bishop G.bson seems to have been well apprized of this blunder; for he refers the reader to Ven. Bede Hift. Ecclef. I. 1. c. 1. where I find these words, which agree both in Wheloc's and Smith's edition. In primis autem bæc insula Brittones solum a quitus nomen accepit, incolas babuit, qui de trastu Armoricano, ut fertur, Brittaniam advesti, australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt. King Alfred's translation likewise has Armorica. The beginning of the Saxon Chronicle seems to be almost the same with the passage from which the foregoing is extracted, though the former is rather more concise. It is yet an unsettled point, whether the first part of the Chronicle was written (1) before Bede's time or not: Bishop Gibson and Bishop Nicolson hold contrary opinions; but, if it were necessary, I think I could bring forward some substantial arguments to prove that the former part of the Chronicle is actually taken from Bede. Tacitus and Cæfar confirm what Bede relates, by the inference which they draw from the similitude of language and manners in the respective inhabitants of Armorica and Britain. In the mean time, Bishop Gibson himself in his note on this paffage (which may be found in Nominum Locorum Explicatione, p. 12. subjoined to the Chronicle) observes: 'Armenia (lege Armorica) Galliæ pars ab occidente, oræ maritimæ proxima, et a situ nomen sortita: Armorica enim est quasi ad mare. Cum Anglorum viribus oppressi erant Britanni, eorum pars buc se salutis causa contulit, unde Britanni Armoricani. Hodie Bretagne." To my doubts whether the passage in Bede similar to that the Saxon Chronicle, was an interpolation or not, the fame ingenious correspondent replies: "The question you now propose, is not, whether Armenia or Armorica? but, whether the fentences in Bede, referred to as parallel with the passage in the Saxon Chronicle that notices Armenia, are really Bede's?—in other words—is the paragraph an interpolation? I do not scruple to declare that it is not: and, that you may rest satisfied of the truth of this affurance, I shall state such proofs as must, I think, produce conviction. Bede's ecclesiastical history with King Alfred's Anglo-faxon version was first printed, in this country, at Cambridge, in 1644, by Abraham Wheloe, who had the use of several MSS. A splendid edition was afterwards printed at Cambridge, in 1644, by Dr. Smith, who had the use of other MSS. Of these MSS. the most ancient is that which is deposited in the Royal Library at Cambridge, and was written in 737, only two years after Bede's death. Neither Smith nor Wheloc have faid that the paffage is not in this MS. On the contrary, all the MSS. feem to agree in all points, as to this paffage, for there is not the most minute variation noticed in the readings. Bede died in 735: King Alfred died in 901. Alfred's Saxon translation closely follows Bede's Latin. Is it likely that at the short distance of a century and half, the king, whose extensive learning and found judgment are so highly extolled, should have made use of a corrupted or interpolated manuscript, and should even have adopted and sanctioned an errour, and that in a most material point? Our passage forms the fourth paragraph of the first chapter of the first book. The title of the chapter is, ' De situ Brittaniæ vel Hiberniæ, & priscis earum incolis." The first paragraph treats of the situation of the island; the second, of its fertility and natural productions; the third, of the climate; the fourth, of the languages and inhabitants; the fifth, of the Picts and of Ireland; and the fixth and last, of the Scots. Now the fourth paragraph could not, at any rate, be a mere interpolation; for supposing, for the sake of argument, that our passage was not part of the original work, this chapter would then have been desective, and not correspondent with its general title; for nothing was then left concerning the original inhabitants, of whom it professed to treat: And that the original paragraph should have been expunged, and a dissimilar one foisted in, is altogether incredible. Let us now consider the fourth paragraph. The words are these, 'Hæc in præsenti, juxta numerum librorum quibus lex divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis, unam eam-

<sup>(1)</sup> That it was written before Bede's time, might be eafily proved.

I have to add, that the context of the passage does not seem to warrant the word Armorica. The Saxon Chronicle, speaking of the original inhabitants, plainly intimates, that "they who settled first in the South or South-western parts, came a long voyage by sea:" And next, says the Chronicle, "came also by sea, the Southern Scythians." About the Southern Scythians there seems to be no dispute. In the mean time, it is absurd to describe a colony from the opposite coast of Gaul, as coming a long sea-voyage. If, indeed, the original inhabitants settled in the western parts of the island, before the Southern Scythians came, they formed their colony in Britain, when the coasts of Gaul were uninhabited; when on the coasts of Gaul, there were no settlers of any description, and

of course no Armoricans: The Armoricans, indeed, are comparatively of a modern date.

Our first settlers not coming over-land by way of Europe, the conclusion is, that they came by sea: Nor does there seem to be any difficulty in this supposition, if we allow that the Phenician merchants came hither, afterwards, by the same channel. From the passage I have quoted, it further appears, that a colony of South-Scythians touched at Ireland, and passed thence to North Britain. This is abundantly confirmed in the Irish records, which never appeared fo advantageously as in Vallancey's ingenious Vindication of the Antiquity of the Irish. If the Picti, then, came from South Scythia, why not the Danmonii from Armenia? Whilst the one was able to come from the east, was there any charm to prevent the other?

With respect to the part of the island where our Eastern emigrators settled, I have already observed that it was, probably in the South of Devon. This is intimated, as we have seen, by the Sazon Chronicle. And, that the Southams were inhabited in very early times, may be fairly inferred, I think, from the story of Brutus; though, with

regard to facts, we reject it as legendary.

According to Geoffry of Monmouth, Brutus, fon of Silvius, having vanquished the giants of this island, called it Britain, after his own name, in 1108 before Christ. In the mean time, those well known lines from the Architrenius of Havillan-

Inde dato cursu, Brutus comitatus Achate, Gallorum spoliis cumulatus, navibus aquor, &c. &c.

tend to shew that this settlement was made in the South-west.

In the same Poem is described the conflict between Corinæus and the Giant: And the rock which the Poet mentions, is reported to be the Haw, a hill between the town of Plymouth and the fea. Thus fings Havillan:

Hos, avidum belli robur, Corinaus Averno Præcipites misit, cubitis ter quatuor altum

Gogmagog Herculea suspendit in aere luctu, &c. &c.
Nor is popular tradition filent on the subject. Our first heroes and our first towns are placed in the Southams by the voice of the people, that echoes, at this moment, to the

Saxon Chronicle and the British Annals. The inhabitants of Totnes describe Brutus as landing at their town, and point out the very stone on which he first set foot, when descending from his vessel: And, though the sea be now retired from Totnes, yet the records of former ages instruct us, that it actually flowed up to the very walls of the town. These are remarkable coincidencies: I had almost faid, that they are such as must carry conviction of the fact I have been afferting, to every unprejudiced mind.

We have here the express declaration of the Saxon Chronicle; the tale of the British Annalift; and the fong of the poet Havillan; the traditional notions of the people of Totnes, transmitted from the remotest ages to the present race; and a fact in natural history; distinct in themselves—independent on each other—yet all meeting in the same point.

demque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum et Latinorum, quæ meditatione scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis. In primis autem hæc insula Brittones solum a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armorieano, ut sertur, Brittaniam advecti, Australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt. Then proceeds the fifth:

Et cum plurimam insulæ partem, incipientes ab Austro, possedissent, contigit gentem Pictorum, &c. Hiberniam, pervenisse, &c. Had the sentence in primis, &c. been wanting, the sense were incomplete; and we must have considered the subsequent paragraph as another interpolation. Had the latter been allowed to stand, where should we have sound the nominative case to possediffent? The libri quibus lex divina scripta est? or the lingua quinque gentium? Upon the whole, we must come to these determinations.

1. That there is no interpolation considered merely as such, namely, the introduction of extrinsic matter.

2. That there is not a shadow of reason for supposing that the passage is corrupted, or that it does not stand, in the printed books, precisely as it came originally from Bede's pen."

Though

Though the Saxon Chronicle, fingly taken, might not be admitted as decifive, yet, as strengthened by these collateral proofs, I cannot dispute its authority. Though the tradition of Totnes might, in itself, be allowed no great weight, yet, as supported by the Saxon Chronicle, we consider it with respect. The monk of Lincoln was a stranger to Totnes: He was ignorant of her traditions, and their enlivening relic. The inhabitants of Totnes were equally unacquainted with the Saxon Chronicle: They were unconfcious of its existence: Nor hath its fame, perhaps, yet reached the traditionists of this ancient town. Not less remote, I conceive, was the connexion between Geoffry of Monmouth, and the Totonesians. Surely, no collusion between the parties can be suspected. I will not infift any further on this striking concurrence; though I cannot but remind the reader of the fact in natural history, which proves the tradition to be partly true. The tradition, therefore, claims some credit: And, thus acquiring sorce, it communicates its influence to the Saxon Chronicle and to the British Annals: And they all, mutually, corroborate each other.

Let us proceed to examine a few opinions, that apparently militate against this hypothesis. That Britain was peopled by the Brigantes, who were called also Brigtones and Britanni, is the positive affertion of Carte; though he owns that he differs from most other writers on the subject. But he alledges, that "most authors take things upon trust; whilst he sees and examines every thing with his own eyes." How far he really examined every thing with his own eyes, may admit of some doubt; since he expressly quotes Cæsar for his authority, in saying that the Aborigines of Britain were the Brigantes. I mention this to shew, at the same instant, both the ignorance and the boldness of Carte. Where doth Cæsar inform us that the Aborigines were the Brigantes? I defy all the admirers of Carte to point out such an intimation in any of Cæsar's writings: Vainly would they search for it even with Mr. Carte's "own eyes." Cæsar would have rejoiced at discovering who the Aborigines were, or whence they came.

The name of Brigantes was conferred upon the tribes who passed from the Continent into Britain, and was the fignature of their separation from their brethren in Gaul. (a)

The Belgic Trivonantes are particularly mentioned as Brigantes, by Galgacus, a native of Britain: " Brigantes famina duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra."

Dr. Borlase, a much more respectable author than Carte, does not venture to oppose the vulgar notion that this island was originally peopled from Gaul. But (not to notice in this place his ideas relating to the religions and manners of the Britons and the oriental nations) he evidently sees some objections, to prevent his implicit assent to the common opinion.

Among other topics, the fentiments which the Britons themselves entertained of their origin, is the subject of his consideration. The Aborigines thought (says Borlase) that they were fprung from Dis, or from the earth; whilst the colonists of the coasts acknowledged, with more judgment, that they were sprung from the Gauls. And Dis was imagined to be the same person as the Egyptian Mercury or (c) Thoth, who was one of the leaders of the migration from Babel.

This is a very fingular and striking circumstance. And this tradition of the British origin was (d) actually preserved by the Druids: And, we may well presume, it was founded on truth. There was something of mysteriousness in the tradition: And the communi-

cation of it to the people was, perhaps, very imperfect. It was probably reposited among those fecret things of the Druids, which Cæsar mentions with reverence.

Bonduica, the queen of the Britons, affirmed, with some degree of triumph, that the wifest of the Romans were unacquainted with the true name of the Indigenæ. (e) This has, doubtless, an air of mystery. For simply to know the name of a colony, or the first founder of it, would be as much within the scope of the vulgar, as the more informed mind. To be acquainted with the name of the Indigenæ, would imply no great degree of wisdom. It must have been some recondite knowledge, therefore, of which Bonduica fays, the wifest of the Romans were ignorant.

This much, at present, for Carte and Borlase. To introduce the Historian of Manchester, in this place, with a view of controverting his opinions, might be deemed an infult both to his genius and his learning. That I intend, however, the slightest disrespect to Mr. Whitaker, can never be conceived; whilft I have uniformly professed my

<sup>(</sup>a) See Whitaker's Genuine History, p. 72, 73, and his History of Manchester, p. 9, 10.

(b) Agric. Vit. c. 31.

(c) See Bochart, p. 463.

(d) Ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant; idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt. Cæsar, L. 6.

(e) Si testimonio Dionis Cassii sides babenda est, Britannorum Regina Bonduica affirmet, Romanorum sapientissimos verum nomen indigenarum ignorasse. Not. in Ricard. p. 153.

high veneration of his antiquarian abilities, in a strain which could only be prompted by ideas of uncommon merit. The authority of Mr. Whitaker, must, doubtless, be allowed great weight. That Mr. Whitaker has derived the Britons from the Gauls, and placed the first inhabitation of this island, about one thousand years before Christ, appears from his Manchester and from his (a) Genuine History of the Britons. And, in a correspondence with which he has lately favoured me on this subject, he thus expresses his fentiments. "When the Phenicians, fays he, first traded here, the Belgæ were the inhabitants, who came hither from Gaul, about three hundred and fifty years before Christ, and the Aborigines, who came hither from the same country about one thousand years before Christ. As to the Saxon Chronicle, it is wholly incompetent to decide upon the point. The writer of it knows nothing of those early times but what was transmitted to him from the Romans and Greeks. To these, therefore, we must appeal. Cæsar is our earliest author, and in himself, also, our best. "Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt: Maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgis transierant; et, bello illato, ibi remanserunt, at que agros colere caperunt." These lines form the grand distinction of our Island Fathers. When the Aborigines and the Belgæ came, successively, Cæsar does not inform us. He only says, in another place, "Plerosque Belgas, of Gaul, esse ortos a Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, propter loci sertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse."

This incident is too evidently connected with that above, not to be allowed to be nearly contemporary with it. The Belgæ of Germany invaded Gaul, feized all the north-east to the Meme and the Seine, and then progressively passed into Britain. As posterior colonists, they inhabited the line of the coast, having dislodged the prior colony from it, and confined them to the interior of the island. And when either of these colonies came hither, is pointed out very happily, and with a full conformity to collateral history, by that little commentary drawn up by Richard of Cirencester, in the fourteenth century, which had been strangely smuggled out of Britain into Denmark, and which returned back to its native country about thirty years ago. "Anno mundi M. M. M. Circa hæc tempora cultam et habitatam primum Britanniam arbitrantur nonnulli;" where we observe his actual reference to some ancient author or authors, and their dubiousness concerning the precise year of so remote an event. But for the second colony as coming in a period much nearer to the line of Roman history, he speaks from his authors thus positively: A. M. M. M. D. C. L. Has terras intrarunt Belga." On the whole, it appears, that Mr. Whitaker is disposed, not only to derive the original Britons from Gaul, but to fix the first colonization of the island about one thousand years before Christ; and that, in determinning this point, he chiefly reposes on the authority of Richard of Cirencester. But. with all deference to Mr. Whitaker's judgment, I cannot but think, that the very passage which he cites from Richard, to corroborate his argument, has, in itself, a strong tendency to overturn it. Let us review his extract, with what immediately follows it, in the original: The whole passage will wear a very different aspect and lead to a very different conclusion. "(b) A. M. M. M. M. circa hac tempora cultam & habitatam primum Britaniam arbitrantur nonnulli." So far Mr. Whitaker—but Richard proceeds—"cum illam falutarent Graci Phanicesque mercatores." The obvious meaning of this passage, doubtless, is, that about the year of the world three thousand, (and about one thousand years before Christ,) this island was, in general, cultivated and peopled in every part of it-insomuch that the Phenician and Greek merchants were beginning to trade with the natives." Mr. Whitaker must certainly allow, that if this passage be cited to fix the date of the peopling of the island, it may be brought, at the same time, to fix the date of the Phenician and Grecian commerce with the islanders. But, if we admit its authority with this double view, we must understand that the peopling of Britain and the Phenician trade commenced at the same instant. This, however, is a manifest absurdity. Who can imagine that a race of adventurers, just landed on a defart island, could find themselves immediately in a fituation to establish a mercantile connexion of any kind-much less, such an intercourse as the Phenician trade implies? By what (c) divination were they instantaneously directed to the minerals of Danmonium—whether those treasures were deep buried in the bowels of the earth, or whether they lay not far below the surface of it? By what wonderful process could they so rapidly prepare their tin for exportation? Surely we

<sup>(</sup>a) See Genuine History of the Britons afferted, p. 29, 30, 31, 32.
(b) Ricard. Mon. De Situ Britann. Lib. 2. Cap. 1. (c) I might say "by what Virgula Divinatoria!" might

might allow some time for the settling of emigrators on an unknown island-for clearing away part of its woods to make room for human habitations-for the culture of its foil, to supply the necessities of life-before we looked to the discovery of its subterranean riches. Such a discovery is generally prompted by motives of avarice, of curiofity, or of luxury-motives which do not operate till the immediate wants of life are fatisfied. But, after those productions of the earth were brought to light, could the natives (as I have already asked) have suddenly converted them into articles of commerce? And, when the Danmonian tin was become a marketable commodity, was it not by a strange concurrence of circumstances, that a regular trade began that very moment, with so remote a people as the Phenician merchants?—The conclusion, therefore, to be drawn from this passage in Richard, is, that so far from being now first colonized, the island, about a thousand years before Christ, was well cultured and peopled; and that foreign merchants had begun to trade with its inhabitants. So that the passage in question, whilft it memorizes the fertility and populousness of the island, refers to the first establishment of the British commerce. (a) It is wonderful, however, that Mr. Whitaker, whilst he lays some stress on the passage, as corroborating his opinion relative to the peopling of the island, not only rejects its more natural import, with regard to the British commerce, but afferts in direct contradiction to Richard, that the Phenicians first traded with the British Belga; since, Richard plainly intimates, that the Phenicians and Greeks began to trade with the natives, full fix hundred and fifty years before the Belgæ arrived in Britain from the Continent.

As to the inhabitation of the island, it must necessarily have taken place, many centu-

ries before.

That the evidence may be fummed up as satisfactorily as possible in so doubtful a case, Mr. Whitaker hath referred us to a higher tribunal than that of Richard. He hath referred us to Casar. All parties, indeed, seem "to appeal unto Casar:" let Cæsar, then, decide the question. The principal particulars concerning Britain, in Cæfar's commentaries, are as follows. (b) In the 4th book, Cæsar gives his reason for invading Britain—the affiftance afforded by the islanders to the enemy. The island (says he) its inhabitants, harbours, coasts, and places of descent, were almost unknown to the Gauls. Some merchants frequented Britain, for the fake of trade: but they knew only the coasts opposite to Gaul. In every other respect, even they were strangers to the country and to the extent of the island, and ignorant who were the inhabitants, or what their customs were, or art of war, or military force, or most commodious harbours. In the 4th book also, (c) Cæsar lands in Britain, and describes the war-chariots of the Britons armed with scythes, and adds (in the strongest language) that the Romans were assowished and terrified at this new mode of fighting. He retreats into Gaul. In the 5th book, Cæsar prepares for a second invasion of the island. He passes over into Britain: and he thus describes the inhabitants. The sea-coast or maritime parts are inhabited by different tribes from Belgium, who came from the Continent, allured by the love of war and plunder. And these different people, settling in the country, retain the names of the tribes and states from whence they are descended. But the interior parts are inhabited by those, who, according to general fame, are reputed to be the original natives of the soil. In the 15th section, the enemy, supported by their chariots, vigorously charged the Roman cavalry and advanced guard—a sharp conflict ensued—Cæsar sent two cohorts to support his men—but they were (d) so terrified by the new manner of fighting, that they were broken through and routed. By this action it appeared, (e) that the legions were by no means a fit match for fuch an enemy: nor could even the cavalry engage without great

(b) Quod omnibus fere gallicis bellis, hossibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat. See Delphin. Edit. of Cæsar's Comment. Lond. printed 1719. P. 79, 80, &c. Suetonius assigns a very different reason for this invasion—intelligence of the wealth of the island: Cæsar had heard of the tin of Dan-

monium and of the pearl-fishery.

(c) Section 23d, 33d, 34th. Nostri perterriti—atque bujus omnino generis pugnæ perterriti—perturbati nostris novitate pugnæ—In the 2d book of the Pharsalia, Pompey says, that Cæsar:

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

(e) Section 16th.

<sup>(</sup>a) Had Richard intended to point out merely the original inhabitation of Britain, he would not have placed cultam before babitatam. That the island was cultivated first, and peopled afterwards feems rather odd. It is a ufteron-proteron of which so accurate a writer as Richard could not have been guilty.

Canger—the enemy fometimes fighting in their chariots, then fuddenly quitting their chariots and fighting on foot, in detached parties. In the 6th book, Cæsar says—" Over all Gaul there are only two orders of men, who have in any degree honor or power—all the rest are slaves. These are, the Nobles and the Druids. The Druids preside over matters of religion and of law: the whole study and occupation of the Nobles, is war. The institution of the Druids, is faid to have come originally from (a) Britain. From Britain it passed into Gaul: and still, those who wish to be perfect in this religion, travel into Britain for instruction. What the Druids committed to writing, is written in Greek letters."(b)

The studies and religion of the Druids are in the same book, described to be as follows

-" An exact observation and knowledge of the motions of the Heavenly Bodies—enquiries into the origin and nature of All Things—and the power of the Immortal Gods; with a belief that the ever-living foul passes from one body into another. In the same book, the Gauls esteem themselves to be descended from Father Dis.—So the Druids, who have the fecret in their hands, instruct them. They reckon time by nights and not by days. The Germans differ widely from the Gauls. They know nothing of the Druids or of facrifices." These notices of Julius Cæsar are faithfully reported. And they will elucidate several points of discussion in the following sections. Our chief point, at prefent, is the first colonization of the island. I shall only observe on the whole extract, that in the first part—book the 4th—Cæsar is not so clear in his account as in the subsequent part—gathering his information only from merchants, previously to his landing, and not being able to procure intelligence of the Britons from any other description of people on the Continent, though after his landing, indeed, he speaks with more certainty as from his own knowledge. But in the 5th book, after his second descent, he talks no longer of obtaining intelligence from merchants: he speaks positively and clearly, as from his own knowledge and opinion, grounded upon a more intimate view of the people. And his distinction between the parts of Britain, which had been settled from the Continent, and the parts which were inhabited by those who did not come from the Continent, is strongly and decifively marked. And, in his account of the war-chariots of the Britons and their manner of fighting, utterly new and unknown to the Romans, and of their other customs as well as their religion, there are a clearness and a discrimination that speak a thorough acquaintance with his subject. With respect to the first settlers, Cæsar's account directly implies, that they did not come from the Continent—for he fpeaks of those who did; and whom he well knew; and with whom, as knowing them, he negociated in private to facilitate the fuccess of his invasion. Though the Belgæ, then, and various continental tribes of the Celtic race had passed over and settled in the maritime parts, with whom he had some acquaintance; yet none of these tribes were the Aborigines of the island: nor could any of these continental invaders give him the least satisfactory information relative to the Aborigines. We should remark, also, that the continental settlers carried their original names with them into the island: and the tribes from whom they were descended, retained those names on the continent. The Belgæ of Gaul had still their name re-echoed by the Belgæ of Britain. But where on the continent of Europe shall we find the name of the Aboriginal Britons? Yet they had a name; and their name was Danmonii. When, in a subsequent age, some of the Danmonii passed over from Britain into Ireland, they carried thither their hereditary name, though it was still retained in Britain. Such would have been precisely the case with a colony from Gaul. And the Danmonii, if derived from thence, would have been recognized on the Continent, as bearing the name of their progenitors. Their traditional (c) ideas of their own origin, indeed, should render us, at least, cautious in deriving the Britons from Gaul; and still more cautious in deriving them from Gaul so late as about a thousand years before Cæsar. For if they had emigrated at fo late a period from the Continent, they would probably have preserved some

<sup>(</sup>a) In a note to Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden, it is observed: "that the Britons and Gauls having the same religion, does plainly argue an alliance, as Mr. Camden urges. But, if the discipline of the Druids, fo considerable both for religion and government, were, as Cæsar observes, first sound in Britain, and thence conveyed into Gaul, does it not seem to intimate, that Britain must have been peopled before Gaul, as having by longer experience arrived at a more complete scheme of religion and government? Besides, if our island had been peopled from Gaul, would it not look probable to say, they must bring along with them the religion and discipline of the place?" See Gibson's Camden.

Britan. p. 14.

(b) If crassis be not the true reading—a point which will hereafter be discussed.

Noticed above

account of their original, in Cæsar's time: they would have retained at least an indistinct idea of their real descent. The Belgæ leaving Gaul 650 years afterwards, preserved the history of their emigration, and corresponded with their continental fathers. This emigration was about 350 years before Cæsar. They preserved, therefore, their history and their connexion with their fathers, for 350 years. Let us allow the Aboriginal Britons the same space of time, for the same history and the same correspondence. If this be the case, they were in possession of their colonial history, and they were corresponding with their fathers on the Continent, 300 years before the arrival of the Belgæ. During the space of these 300 years, we may conceive that the clearness of their history was somewhat obscured, and that their correspondence with their fathers had ceased to be regularly maintained: but we cannot suppose, that, during this time, their colonial memoirs and their continental connexions were utterly annihilated. If, then, the traces of their alliance remained, however faint, at the arrival of the Belgæ, about 350 years before Cæfar, nothing is more probable than that those fading traces were refreshed by the Belgæ, who came from Gaul and must have known their connexions on the Continent. The Belgæ, it is true, were their enemies. But the language of the Belgæ, the same as their own, must have awakened every dormant idea of their former friends. For the last 350 years, therefore, before Cæfar, the native Britons would have been in no danger of losing the memorials of their origin. Even by a hostile communication with the Belgæ, they must have renewed the vestiges of their primitive alliance: and these vestiges, when once reftored, could not have perished before the time of Cæsar. Their second tendency to decay, was furely not fo rapid as their first. But history informs us, that the Aborigines actually kept up a correspondence with the Continent by means of the Druids of Britain and Gaul. It is impossible, then, that they could have been ignorant of their true origin, if derived from Gaul-much less, could they have maintained a tradition of their immediate descent from one of the leaders of the migration from Babel. It is ridiculous to fuppose that in so short a space of time such an idea could have been introduced and have universally prevailed among the Aboriginal Britons, if merely a Gaulish colony.

If it be asked, at what period are we to fix the emigration from the east or from Armenia to the British isles? I answer, that, probably, it was not long after the dispersion from Babel—at the destruction of the great monarchy or empire of Nimrod. Polydore Virgil recites the various traditions and accounts of the first peopling of Britain, and inclines to the opinion, that it was originally colonized not long after the dispersion. Humphry Llhuyd quotes Aristotle de Mundo addressed to Alexander the Great; where it is afferted, that Britain, which he calls Albion, was fettled A.M. 2220, and was fo named by the ancient inhabitants long before the Roman name was ever known in Britain. We find Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, writing thus 160 years after Christ-" cum, prifcis temporibus pauci forent homines in Arabia et Chaldaa, post linguarum divisionem aucti et multiplicati paulatim sunt. Tunc quidam abierunt versus orientem; quidam concessere ad partes majoris continentis, alii porro profecti sunt ad septentrionem, sedes quasituri; nec prius desierunt to ram ubique occupare, quam etiam Britannos in Arctois climatibus accesserint." Here it is to be observed, that Theophilus considers this island as already peopled, and inhabited by Britons, even before these emigrators, some time after the dispersion at the Tower of Babel, begun to colonize the different parts of the world. Nothing, in truth, is more credible, than that the south-west part of our Island was peopled by sea; whilst the western parts of Europe were absolutely uninhabited; since it was long before mankind western parts of Europe were absolutely uninhabited; since it was long before mankind could have migrated so far westward by land. In the nature of things, emigrations by land must go on much slower than by sea. In the mean time, the most ancient historians agree that the sea, now called the Mediterranean, was formerly an inland lake, as also the Pontus Euxinus; but that in process of time, by a great deluge, the latter forced its way into the former, and the former into the ocean by the straits of Hercules or Gibraltar—Before that time, therefore, there could be no navigation from the coasts of Asia to the western ocean; and the communication, if any, must have been in part, by a journey overland from Marseilles, or from Cadiz, and from thence by taking shipping on the coasts of Spain. To fix the æra, therefore, of the deluge I mention, would probably fix the date of the peopling of Britain and Ireland.

But, without entering into conjectures on a period so remote, it seems unquestionable that Britain, as well as Ireland, was peopled in very early times, from the eastern countries. The Danmonii, in short, are entitled, beyond dispute, to rank among the most ancient Nations in the world—as the Romans termed them Aborigines—that is,

among the first race of mankind. The Romans never employed this expression in any

This much for the first peopling of the island, or rather the south-west parts of it: For I consider the fouth of Devonshire as actually colonized, whilst the rest of the island was yet a defert, and even the opposite continent of Gaul and the greater part of Europe were

That there were other emigrations from very distant countries into Britain, before the invasion of Julius Cæsar, is extremely probable. The Indigenæ of the Land of Promise, the Canaanites, afterwards called the Phenicians, having been dispossessed by Joshua, about one thousand four hundred years before Christ, made vast emigrations into the islands of the Mediterranean sea. And, perhaps, there was no great interval of time before they reached the British isles.

The voyages of the Phenicians to Danmonium were not mercantile only. (a) "It is so certain as to be universally allowed among the learned, (says (b) Wells) that the Carthaginians were a colony of the Tyrians or Phenicians, and so descendents of Canaan. It is also generally believed, and that not without grounds, that this colony came from the Land of Canaan at the time when Joshua invaded it." Meantime it is worthy of remark, that the Phenicians, wherever they wished to fix their trade, planted colonies and built cities. All along the coasts of the Mediterranean, they established themselves in this manner; and, hen they passed the Straits, they pursued the same plan. When they became acquainted, therefore, with the fouth-west coasts of our island, it is very unlikely that they should drop their original uniform plan, and not attempt to gain a permanent footing in so distant a country; the trade with which was certainly more precarious in proportion to its remoteness, and with which they were interested in preserving a regular intercourse for ages.

A Phenician colony must easily have united with the aboriginal Islanders, as they derived their religion from the same source, and differed very little from the Armenian

Britons, in their language, manners, or customs.

After the Phenicians, came the Greeks, to trade in the western parts for tin and lead, and other articles, and called the British isles the Cassiterides.

And that a Grecian colony actually fettled here, may appear from the number of Greek words introduced into the language of Danmonium.

We now come to the common and popular notion—the peopling of fome parts of our Island, by the nations from the neighbouring continent: For this we by no means intend

to deny, though we maintain the probability of a prior colonization from the east.

Mr. Carte, who is totally mistaken in all his positions, and whose antiquities are replete with error, is even so negligent as to mistate the time, when the Belgæ made their incur-sion into this island. And he positively tells us, that "Devonshire and Cornwall were all, in a manner, wild forest, at the coming of the Belgæ, as they continued to be in a great degree, till within one hundred and fifty years after the conquest." This false affertion, manifestly against the truth of all history, (c) while it militates against common sense, is too ridiculous to merit one moment's attention. The Belgæ, we find from Richard, made their expedition into this island, from Gaul, three centuries and half before Chrift. And, in the course of two hundred and fifty years, as Mr. Whitaker thinks, they extended their conquests in this island, over Kent and a small part of Middlesex, over Susiex and the greatest part of Hampshire and Wiltshire, over Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and a part of Cornwall.

Driven out by these invaders, Mr. Whitaker tells us, many of the Britons, (aboriginal

Britons, as I conceive) passed over into Ireland.

When the Belgæ, fays he, first landed upon the southern shore of Britain, about three hundred and fifty years before the christian æra, and took possession of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire, the Britons, dislodged from their ancient settlements, transported themselves into the neighbouring isle of Ireland.

(a) Dr. Stukely intimates in his Memoirs to Soc. Antiq. (Dec. 3d, 1761) that the Britons, from their first plantation here, under the Tyrian Hercules, by the Phenicians, from the Red Sea and Arabia, had been feeluded many ages from the rest of the world; and that THIS PLANTATION TOOK PLACE BEFORE GAUL WAS PEOPLED.

(b) See his Geog. of the Old and New Test. vol. 1. p. 149.
(c) Hume, in his short notice of the Antiquities of the Island, is almost as mistaken as Carte.

The Belgæ, continues Mr. Whitaker, had been thus fettled two hundred and fifty years in the island, when Divitiacus came over from Gaul, into it. He had acquired the sovereignty of the continental and island Belgæ. And, bringing over a large reinforcement of the former, he enabled the latter to extend their possessions into the interior parts of the country. And he subdued the rest of Middlesex and all Essex, all Surrey, the rest of Hampshire, and the adjoining parts of Berkshire, the rest of Wiltshire, the remainder of Cornwall, all Somersetshire, and the south-west of Gloucestershire.

Hence a fecond emigration of the Britons into Ireland. \*

But it by no means appears from Richard, Mr. Whitaker's principal authority, that the Belgæ had conquered so great a part of the island, before the arrival of Divitiacus. Richard fimply informs us, Has terras intrarunt Belgæ. That they at that time reduced + Devonshire, or obliged so great a number of its inhabitants (the aboriginal Danmonii) to take refuge across the seas, and possess themselves of Ireland, is surely an affertion without proof. Not long after (fays Richard) Divitiacus arrived and fubdued a great part of this kingdom of the Britons.

" Non diu postea cum exercitu in hoc regnum transiit Rex Æduorum Divitiacus, magnamque

ejus partem subegit.

But, according to Mr. Whitaker, a great part of the British kingdom was already subdued to his hands. Mr. Whitaker, however, affigns him his task with great precision, gives him feveral provinces to conquer, and represents a fecond party of aboriginal Emigrants flying before his arms into Ireland. Yet, from Richard's account, I should conceive that only one emigration had taken place, in consequence of the Belgic invasions.

A. M. M. M. M. D. C. L. Circa hæc tempora in Hiberniam commigrarunt ejecti a Belgis

Britones, ibique sedes posuerunt, ex illo tempore Scoti appellati.

That the Belgæ made such inroads into Devonshire, as to force great numbers of the Danmonii, or Aborigines of the West, from their ancient seats, and occasion their emigration into Ireland, is evident beyond a doubt: But fo complete a reduction of Devonshire, by the Belgæ, even before Divitiacus, is, furely, not to be admitted as an historical fact. I can fcarcely imagine, indeed, that the Belgæ, thus reinforced by Divitiacus, made an entire conquest of Devon and Cornwall. But, whatever was the success of the Belgæ, it is certain, that the Britons of the coasts very soon combined together to oppose the common enemy. Before the coming of the Romans, we find from Richard, that gestum est Cassibelini cum civitatibus maritimis bellum. Under Cassibelinus the Britons prosecuted the war against the Belgæ: And, if British Exeter were ever occupied by the Belgæ, it was recovered by Caffibelinus before the arrival of Cæfar.

In the mean time, the Cimbri and the Carnabii (from the neighbouring Continent

also) had formed settlements in the west of the island.

The Cimbri (fays Mr. Whitaker) occupied the fouth-west of Somerset, and the north-

east of Cornwall, as far as the river Cambala.

But it is plain, from Richard, that the north of Devon, as well as part of Somerfet and Cornwall, was inhabited by the Cimbri, from Bridgewater quite to Hartland Point; and that the Cimbri were a diffinct people from the Danmonii, though they were afterwards confidered as the same people. This author, speaking of the first peopling of Britain, fays, that although various nations feated themselves in various parts of Britain, yet it was not well known who first peopled the island, and that it was uncertain, whether the Cimbri were the Welch, or of a more ancient origin.

The Carnabii spread over the remainder of the north of Cornwall, and over all the

fouth-west, as far as Falmouth Haven.

Such, then, were the different establishments of the tribes from the Continent. In fixing these settlements Mr. Whitaker is doubtless right. But when he endeavours to reduce

(a) The Irish colony (says Mr. Whitaker) was afterwards augmented by the addition of other Britons, equally dislodged from their native regions by the Belgæ, and equally repairing to the wilds of Ireland. This fecond embarkation was made about two hundred and fifty years after the first; when the Britons fled from Divitiacus.

(b) Yet Mr. Whitaker himself says (see his Appendix to the History of Manchester, No. r.) that the Belgæ could not have settled in the more western counties at first. Passing, assuredly, across the narrowest part of the sea, and confining themselves, as Cæsar informs us, to the southern shore; they must gradually have extended their dominions from Kent to the Land's End. And their first possteffions would be Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; and Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Cornwall their laft.

the Danmonii, or original Britons, upon the fame footing with the wandering tribes of Gaul; when he describes the Danmonii of Devonshire as one of the five Belgic colonies, we cannot but confider him as involuntarily steering against the current of historical

we cannot but confider him as involuntarily iteering against the current of historical truth. And this will, I trust, appear hereafter, whether the name of the Danmonii, their persons, or their character, be the subjects of investigation.

On the whole, it should seem, that whilst the common idea of a colony from Gaul, must be admitted as true, the less popular notion of prior colonizations from the east, may at least be speciously defended. He, who in addition to the extracts before us, would bring together the various passages in point, which occur in Herodotus, Strabo, Polybius, or Pliny, (not to notice obscurer authors,) would be induced, perhaps, to think, that if Devonshire and Cornwall were not the first inhabited of the island, yet that the Aborginal Britons were Asiatis: and that, after several emigrations from the east the Aboriginal Britons were Afiatic; and that, after feveral emigrations from the east, the Belgæ and other nations from the Continent possessed themselves (generally speaking) of the maritime parts of Britain, driving a great number of the Aborigines into Ireland, or into the heart of the island.

#### SECTION

VIEW of the DANMONIAN SETTLEMENTS, DIVISIONS of LANDS, and GOVERN-MENT, in the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. Geography of Danmonium from Ptolemy—from Richard—Settlements of the Aborigines or Danmonii on the fouth-fide of the Jugum Ocrinum—of the Phenicians on the north-fide of the Jugum Ocrinum—of the Greeks to the fouth-west—of the Cimbri to the north-east—of the Carnabii to the north-west-The whole of Devonshire and Cornwall reduced by the Danmonii.—II. Division of Danmonium into districts or clanships—a number of clanships forming a cantred—a number of cantreds, supposed to have been six in Danmonium, forming a kingdom—Landed Property—Tenures of Lands—Services of the Chiefs—of the Villains—III. Danmonian Government—Seats of Judicature in the clanships, cantreds and kingdom of Danmonium-Probable Vestiges of Courts or Judgment-seats in each of the fix cantreds-Prefiding Officers in the Courts-Princes of Danmonium, as reported in the British chronicles.

N the former section, I enumerated the different emigrators from the east, from Greece, and from the continent of Gaul, by whom Danmonium was, fucceffively, peopled. To draw the line of their respective settlements in Danmonium, to mark the divisions of their landed property, and to ascertain their government, before the Roman arrival, must be the business of the present section. In order to determine these points with some degree of precision, I shall first endeavour to fix the geography of Danmonium; adverting to the descriptions of Ptolemy and of Richard, as far as they relate to the western part of the island. Ptolemy of Alexandria, who slourished in the former part of the fecond century, under the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, is one of the most ancient geographers, whose works are now extant. It may be proper to premise, that there are two general errors in Ptolemy which affect the whole geography of the island. This writer has made all England decline from the true position as to the length of it, and entirely changed the position of Scotland, representing its length from east to west, instead of from south to north. And he hath placed the whole of South Britain too far north, by two or three degrees. I must observe, also, that Ptolemy computes the longitude from Alexandria in Ægypt, the place of his refidence.

In the description of the western side of the isle which lies along the Irish and Vergivian

feas, after the Estuary Ουεξαλα, we have

Heanness angor-10-17. Promontory of Hercules 14.00 53.00

Ανλιουεςαιον ακρον το και βολεριος—ια—νβ λ Promontory Antivestæum, sometimes called Bolerium 11.00 52.30.

Δαμνονίον το και Οκείνον ακέον ιβ να λ. Promontory Danmonium, called also Ocrinum 12.00 51.30.

In the description of the next side, lying towards the south, and bounded by the British ocean, after the promontory Ocrinum, come

Κενιωνος πολ. εκθολαι ιδ να λδ. Mouth of the river Cenion 40.00 51.45 Ταμαέε πολ. εκδολαι 15 γο νο ς. Mouth of the river Tamarus 15.40 52.10

Ισακα

Ισακα ποί. εκδολαι ιξ νβ γ. Mouth of the river Isaca 17.00 52.20

Aλαινε πολ. εκδολαι ιξ γο νβ γο. Mouth of the river Alænus 17.40 52.40

The Danmonii are placed next to the Durotriges. Μεθ ες δυσμικωλαλοι Δουμνονίοι, EV 015 TOLEIS-Next to the Durotriges, in the most western part, are the Danmonii, among whom are thefe towns-

Ουολιβα ιδ λδ νβ γ. Voluba 14.45 52.20

Ουξελα ιε νβ λδ. Uxela 15.00 52.45
Ταμαςη ιε νβ δ. Tamare 15.00 52.15
Ισκα ιξ λ νβ λδ. Isca 17.30 52.45
In this geographical description, the Promontory of Hercules is, confessedly, Hartland-Point, in the west corner of Devonshire.

The Promontory Antivestaum, or Bolerium, is the Land's-End-perhaps called Antwesterium, from the British words An dinez Tir, which signify the Land's-End; and Bolerium

from Bel e rhin, the head of a Promontory. (a)

The Promontory Ocrinum is the Lizard-Point in Cornwall; probably called Ocrinum, from Och rhin, a high Promontory: And, the Lizard is, probably, of British derivation, from Lif-ard, a lofty projection. (b) Here ends Ptolemy's Description of the Western Coast of Britain.

In his description of the next side, lying towards the south, and bounded by the British ocean, Ptolemy mentions—the mouth of the river Cenion, which is supposed to be Falmouth Haven, fo called from the British word Genou, a mouth; of which there is still fome vestige in the name of a neighbouring town, Tregony. (c)

The river Tamarus retains its ancient name, being called Tamar, from Tamarav,

gentle river: And its mouth is Plymouth-Haven. (d)

The river Isaca, or Isca, is the Exe, which, passing Exeter, falls into the sea at Exmouth.

The river Alaenus is supposed to be the Axe, and its mouth Axmouth. It was, per-

haps, called Alaenus, from Alaun iu, the full river. (e)

The towns of the Danmonii were Voluba, according to (f) Camden and (g) Baxter, Grampound, but in (b) Horsley's opinion, Lostwithiel—

Uxela, supposed by Mr. (i) Camden to be Lostwithiel—by Mr. (k) Baxter, Saltash—

by (1) Horsley, Exeter. Tamare was certainly a town upon the Tamar. (m) Horsley thinks it was Saltash-

but (n) Camden and (o) Baxter suppose it to be Tamarton, retaining its ancient name. Isca, or Isca Danmoniorum, was Exeter, the capital of the Danmonii.

So much for the geography of Ptolemy, as far as it relates to Danmonium. To Antoninus, the imperial Notitia, the Anonymous chorography, and the Itinerary of Richard, I shall have recourse hereafter.

In the mean time, however, Richard's descriptions must not be neglected in fixing the

Geography of the island.

Mr. Whitaker was the first person who duly appreciated the value of Richard's work. (p) Richard's authorities, fays Mr. Whitaker, were Ptolemy and his contemporary writers, the tradition of the Druids, ancient monuments, documents and histories. And in Richard is a Map of Britain, (q) drawn up by himself, " fecundum fidum monumentorum perveterum." This Mr. Bertram thinks far superior to all the rest of Richard's commentary, for the curiousness and antiquity of it. And, as the oldest map of the island that is now extant, and the only old one of Roman Britain, Mr. Whitaker admits it to be a great curiofity. Maps of the island, however, were not uncommon in Richard's time. He himself speaks of some, as recentiore a vo descriptas, and generally known. (r) And this is but of little value: It is frequently inaccurate: It frequently contradicts its own itinerary.

The following is Richard's description of the West of Britain. (5)

" Infra Heduorum terras siti erunt Durotriges, qui et Morini alias vocantur. Metropolin habebant Durinum et promontorium Vindeliam.

(a) Baxter, p. 19, 36. (b) Baxter, p. 186. (c) Baxter, p. 77. Camd. Brit. p. 16. (d) Baxter, p. 222. (e) Baxter, p. 10. (f) p. 17. (g) p. 254. (b) p. 378. (i) p. 18. (k) p. 257. (l) p. 378. (m) p. 376. (n) p. 25. (o) p. 221. (p) See History of Manchester, vol. 1. p. 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90. Octavo edition. (q) In the 14th century. (r) p. 3. (s) p. 19, 20. In borum finibus sensim coarctatur Britannia, et immensum efformare videtur brachium.

quod irruptionem minitantem commode repellit oceanum.

In hoc brachio, qua intermissione Uxella amnis, Heduorum regioni protenditur, sita erat regio Cimbrorum. Utrumne vero modernum Walliæ nomen dederint, an vero antiquior sit Cimbrorum origo—non æque constat. Urbes illis præcipuæ Termolus et Artavia. Visuntur bic, antiquis sic dicta, Herculis columnæ, et non procul binc insula Herculea. Sed a fluminis Uxellæ finibus continuum procurrit montium jugum, cui nomen Ocrinum, extremumque ejus ad promontorium ejusdem nominis extenditur.

Ultra Cimbros extremum infulæ angulum incolebant Carnabii; unde, forsitan, quod hodieque retinet nomen, obtinuit Carnubia. Urbes habebant Musidum et Halangium. has olim desertas propemodum et incultas Britanniæ partes Romani numquam salutaverint, minoris omnino momenti urbes eorum suisse videntur, et Historicis propterea neglectæ, Geographis

tamen memorantur promuntoria Bolerium et Antivestæum.

Memoratis modo populis in littore oceani austrum versus affines ad Belgas-Allobroges, sedem habebant Danmonii, GENS OMNIUM VALIDISSIMA; quæ ratio movisse videtur Ptolemæum, ut totum hunc terræ tractum qui in mare brachii instar prætenditur, illis adscripserit. Urbes habebant Uxellam, Tamaram, Volubam, Ceniam, omniumque matrem Iscam, sluvio cognomini imminentem. Fluvii apud ipsos pracipui memorati modo Isca, Durius, Tamarus atque Cenius. Ora eorum maritima promuntoria exhibet tria, de quibus mox paulo dicemus. Hanc regionem, utpote METALLIS ABUNDANTEM Phænicibus Græcis et Gallis mercatoribus probe notam fuisse constat. Hi enim ob magnam, quam terra ferebat, stanni copiam eo sua frequenter extendebant negotia; cujus rei pracipua sunt documenta supra nominata tria promuntoria-Helenis scilicet, Ocrinum et Keis µείωπον, ut et nomina civitatum, GRÆCAM PHENICIAM-QUE ORIGINEM redolentia. (a)
Ultra brachium in oceano sitæ sunt insulæ Sygdiles, quæ etiam Oestrominides et Cassite-

rides vocabantur, dicta." (b)

Such are our best documents relating to the Geography of Danmonium. And I should

dispose of our successive colonists in the following manner.

The Aboriginal colony from the east, occupied perhaps, at first, little more than the fouth coasts of Devonshire. And they afterwards extended their settlements along the

(a) Herculis prom. Hartland Point. Antivestæum prom. Land's End. Ocrinum prom. Lizard Point. Cenion. fluv. oftia. Valle River. Tamari fluv. oftia. Tamar River.

Isacæ fluv. oftia. Exe River. Rich. not. p. 175.

(b) With respect to the west of the island, Mr. Whitaker says: "The Duretriges or Morini, lived in Dorfetshire, and had Durinum, Durnovaria or Dorchester for their capital. And the Hædui filled all Somersetshire to the Æstuary Uxella, Bridgewater Bay, or the river of Ivel, on the south; the south-west of Gloucestershire, to the hills of Wotton-Under-Edge, or its vicinity; and the northwest of Wiltshire, to the Avon and Cricklade. (1) These, however, appear from Ptolemy, to have been subdued by the Belgæ; their country being expressly ascribed by him to that people. (2) The Cimbri extended over the rest of Somersetshire, except a small part to the east of the Thone, (3) and along the north of Cornwall, as far as the river Cambala, the Camel, or Padstow Harbour. (4) The Carnabii spread over the remainder of the north of Cornwall, and over all the fouth-west, as far as Falmouth Haven. (5) And the Danmonii possessed, originally, the rest of Somersetshire, (6) the rest of Cornwall, and all Devonshire. But, before the coming of the Romans, the Danmonii had subdued both the Carnabii and Cimbri, and usurped their dominions. (7)"

(1) Richard, p. 20 and 24.

(2) Ischalis & Aquæ Calidæ. So also Ptolemy places the Durotriges, not south-west as he is generally translated, but to the fouth and west of the Belga, απο δυσμων και μεσημέριας; the Durotriges being to the south of the Somerfetshire Belgæ, and to the west of the Hampshire. (3) Uxella urbs is given to the Damnonii by Richard, and yet is given to the Hedui by the Map, in express contra-

diction to to the account.

(4) Richard's Map. (5) Cenia Urbs & Cenius Fluvius, given to the Danmonii by Richard.

(6) Uxella Urbs. Richard.

(7) Ptolemy and Richard, p. 20. Danmonium Promontorium. And the Danmonii are Suspinalator, or the most westerly tribe, in the former.

line of the Totonesian Shore, and occupied the country both to the south-east and southwest, whilst they had the Jugum Ocrinum, or that mountainous tract which runs through Devonshire and Cornwall, for their northern boundary.

That these Aboriginal settlers were the Danmonii, I have little doubt. evidence to the contrary. And there are feveral confiderations, which, as they occur in their proper places, will gradually confirm our minds on this subject. Mr. Whitaker, how-ever, has decided it otherwise: and he has degraded the Danmonii into a tribe of the Belgæ. But it is very plain from Richard, that the Danmonii were a distinct people from the Belgæ. Richard mentions the Danmonii as the most respectable of all the British nations. He calls them, in one place, gens omnium validisima: and, describing the different fettlements on the island, he mentions the kingdom of the Danmonii as a most powerful fate.

Fiat vero ab extrema Prima provincia ora initium cujus littora Gallia objiciuntur. Tres vero laudatissimos validissimosque status Cantianum nempe, Belgium, et Danmonium com-

plectitur bæc Provincia. (a)
And he notices thirty battles fought with the combined forces of the Danmonii and the Belgæ. (b) The Danmonii are not only introduced, in Richard's commentary, as a feparate nation, but as a nation of much greater consequence than the Belgæ of the

neighbouring continent.

Not many ages, probably, elapsed, from the establishment of the Danmonii, in the fouth of Devon, before the Phenicians, not content with trading voyages, fixed a colony on the north fide of the Jugum Ocrinum, a country as yet uninhabited, and to which they might have been directed by the fouthern colonists: And their first town, perhaps, near Hartland or Hertland Point, was the Town of Hercules, their God of navigation; whilft the Promontory itself was called Herculis Promontorium, and Lundy, at no great distance, Heraclea or the Island of Hercules.

In the mean time, the Greeks, perhaps, were planting a colony at the Ramhead, a promontory on the fouthern coast of Danmonium, beyond which the first oriental tribes had not, as yet, extended their habitations. This Promontory they called upis melwnov: And from this point they might have stretched their settlements as far west as they

pleafed, over a wild unpeopled country.

But, in process of time, these settlements (to the south at least of the Jugum Ocrinum) were thrown into great disorder by the Belgæ from Gaul, who finally seated themselves as a people beyond the eastern limits, and, who, at the arrival of the Romans, were on a friendly footing with the Danmonii, or were induced at least to unite their forces with the Aboriginal Britons, in opposition to a common enemy.

Nor were the Phenician colonies to the north of the Jugum Ocrinum, undisturbed: The Cimbri invaded Danmonium on the north-east, and established themselves there: And

the Carnabii fettled on the north-west.

After all these agitations, it appears, that the whole of Devon and Cornwall, both the fouth and north fide of the Jugum Ocrinum, were reduced under the subjection of the Danmonii, before the arrival of the Romans.

After thus determining the Danmonian fettlements, it is natural to enquire into the different ranks of the fettlers, and to mark the distribution of property according to

those ranks.

The first business of the leader of a colony, must have been to assign estates to his chiefs: And the affignment (c) of estates to each of the chiefs, would occasion the country to be divided into leffer or greater districts; and Dewonshire to be parcelled into dis-

tricts coevally with the first plantation of it.

These lesser districts were similar to our present townships, and the actual origin of them. And the mansion of the chief and his tenants, and the neighbouring cotes and adjacent lands, would form one division or township. The mansion of another chief (with its appendages) formed a fecond township. And these little divisions must have commenced with the first colony.

And, perhaps, the adjoining downs and extensive woods, were assigned in common,

to a determinate number of townships.

(a) Richard, p. 17. (b) p. 21. (c) It is evident that the Britons had fixed property; fince the Druids, we are told, decided all disputes about the limits of lands.

For

immediate

For the more regular administration of justice, a number of these townships were soon combined into one cantred. Such divisions we actually find in ancient Ireland, whither the Danmonii had emigrated; and in Wales also, where, among the earliest institutes of that country, they are referred to the primitive Britons. (a) Formed some time before the towns were constructed, the cantreds would borrow their appellation from the most remarkable objects of nature within them.

(b) The fouth of Danmonium, including all that tract of land, that lies fouth of the Jugum Ocrinum, from the borders of Dorset to the Land's-End or the Ocrinum Promontorium, was, probably, divided into four cantreds; the first cantred extending from Dorset to the river Isca—the second, from Isca to the river Durius—the third, from Durius to the river Tamara—the sourth, from Tamara to the Ocrinum Promontorium.

The north of Danmonium, including all that tract of land which lies north of the Jugum Ocrinum, from the Uxella to the east, to the Antivestaum Promontorium to the west, naturally divides itself into two cantreds—the north-east cantred, from Uxella to Cambala, inhabited by the Cimbri; and the western cantred from Cambala to the Antivestal

taum Promontorium, inhabited by the Carnabii.

Danmonium, then, was divided into fix cantreds. But what communication originally fubfifted between the two cantreds north of the Jugum Ocrinum, and the four cantreds fouth of this mountainous chain, or in what manner or in what period the cantreds, on either fide of the hills, were so formed as to coalesce into one kingdom, it may be difficult to conjecture. That they were all united under one kingdom, before the arrival of the Romans, is an undoubted fact. Mr. Whitaker informs us, that when the Romans invaded the island, the Danmonii had conquered the Cimbri and Carnabii, and usurped their dominions. Certain it is, that, at this criss, the names of Cimbri and Carnabii were sunk in the name of Danmonii, and that all Devonshire and Cornwall, in fact, was denominated Danmonium.

As a certain number of clanships, therefore, were united to form a cantred; so several cantreds (fix in Danmonium) were united to form a kingdom. Perhaps, the principal clanship in the cantred of Isca, was situated on the banks of the Exe; and the mansion of the (c) Chief, was that fastness or fortress in the woods, which gave rise to the city of Exeter. In the cantred of Durius, Totnes, possibly, had its origin—in that of Tamara, Tamerton or Plymouth—in that of Cenius, Tregony. And, whilst, among the Cimbri, we may observe the clanship of Herton or the town of Hercules, we may trace, perhaps, Redruth, or the town of the Druids, in the country of the Carnabii. Thus was property distributed in Danmonium. And it was, conditionally, distributed by the Sovereign amongst his subjects.

After the Sovereign, ranked the Chiefs, holding their lands immediately from the crown: And, as the immediate tenants of the crown, they were obliged, by their tenures, to certain fervices to it. They were obliged to wait on the King at dinner, for instance; or to follow him to the war. They were bound to construct or repair the royal castles. They were affested with rent either in money or kind. Under the reserve of these fervices and payments, the chiefs had a full property in their lands; and could transmit

them to their heirs.

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Inferior to the chiefs, the great body of the people were divided into two classes—the free, and the complete villains. The former might relinquish their lands, or remain upon them, at their own discretion: The latter were the property of their lord, and saleable as a part of the estate. They were both subject, like the chiefs, to attendance in

war, and to payments, in money or returns in kind.

The tenures of lands were anciently the same in Wales. The discovery of the same holdings even so early as the tenth century and in the laws of Howel Dha—holdings, not formed by that legislator of Wales, but referred by Howel himself to prior institutes, and ascribed to the earliest Britons—very strikingly proves their great antiquity. And the general resemblance of the tenures among the natives of Wales, the Aborigines of Ireland and the Highlanders of Scotland, as well as the original tribes of the Britons, demonstrates the whole system of polity to have been derived from their common and

<sup>(</sup>a) The cantred, though including a larger district, gave rife to the bundred.

<sup>(</sup>b) See Richard's Map.

(c) This Chief, probably, was the Danmonian Sovereign—his fortress, a castle of great strength—and his town, very soon, a large city.

immediate parents-the Emigrators from Asia. And it demonstrates this whole system, tinknown to the neighbouring continental tribes, to have been introduced into the island by the primitive colonists of Danmonium.

Such (fays Mr. Whitaker) was the curious and original frame of the British tenurestenures which feem to have been derived from a very ancient origin, and to have existed coeval with the first plantations of the island. And they were, plainly, I think, the joint

refult of a colonizing and a military spirit.

If we look to the eastern nations for such tenures, we shall find, in Genesis, a picture, of tribes or clans, and chiefs or petty princes: And we shall discover the same holdings at the present day, on the plains of Arabia. From the difference of a continental or island-situation, as well as the climate and other circumstances, the nature of property was fomewhat different in Arabia and Danmonium. The Patriarchs, in elder days, and the Arabian Princes, at the prefent hour, are described as traversing extensive tracts of country, and as removing with their dependents and their cattle, from one spot where the pafturage was exhausted, to another which had been hitherto unoccupied: And the Danmonii are commonly represented as a wandering people, and as feeding their flocks at one time in Devonshire and at another in Hampshire. But this, from the nature of the island, and the populousness of it, was impracticable. Their origin, however, is fusficiently pointed out by their disposition to wander, which they discovered as far as their situation would permit them. Within the circle of his territories, the British chief was, undoubtedly, accustomed to shift the scene; sometimes attending his slocks on the cultivated hills-fometimes in the fertile vallies, and fometimes driving them to the downs, at a confiderable distance. Even in the time of Cæsar, the Aborigines who had fled into the centre of the island, were discriminated by this roving genius from the tribes of Gaul: To Cæsar's own observation this formed a striking part of their character: Nor could the airiness of an Asiatic temper, so opposite to the European mind, that loves its accustomed habitation, be more clearly manifested than by their breaking up their establishments, as they repeatedly did, at the appearance of every invader. Though, gens omnium validisima, and well able to repel an enemy, yet so slight was their attachment to their native soil, that they abandoned it on the first attack, and either rushed from the fea-coasts into the central woods of Britain, and there began to build fresh fortresses and fix new clans, or rapidly embarked for other islands, and formed colonies on the Irish coast, or where-ever fortune might direct their ships. In the mean time, they refembled the Arabs, also, as nearly as their situation would allow, in the distinctions of rank or station.

But let us difmiss, for the present, the idea of these resemblances; and pass to a consi-

deration of the British government.

The institution of townships and of cantreds was particularly subservient to the administration of civil justice. Every township and cantred had a distinct court of justice. The controversies which could not be decided in the court of the township, was carried to the court of the cantred: and the controversies not determined in the cantred, was carried to a court superior to all. The government of a township was that of a large family; where we might observe a species of patriarchal policy, originating from natural relationship and necessary subordination. And from a combination of distinct families, clanships, or townships, would result the government of a cantred.

In the same manner from a combination of cantreds would result the government of a kingdom. The regal government, however, of Danmonium, was not fimply monarchical: The Druids, undoubtedly, participated with the British sovereign, both in the civil and military government. The Druids were the principal directors of the state. They had the same influence in war as in peace; whilst, attending the military expeditions, they animated the troops to victory by their difplays of future glory, or interpoled between armies ready to engage, and prevented the bloody conflict by the dignity of their persons, and sublimity of their doctrines, and by the terrors of enchantment and

The Kings had no power even to punish their soldiers. " To inflict punishment (says Tacitus) belongs to the Druids: And this they affect to do, in obedience to their Deities, who are more peculiarly present, as they tell us, with their armies in war." The British sovereigns had little power, either in framing or executing the laws. The laws among the ancient Britons were not considered as the decrees of their princes, but as the commands of their gods. And the Druids were supposed to be the only persons to whom the gods communicated a knowledge of their will. It was confequently the part of the Druids, to enact the laws as well as to explain them to the people. venerable order, then, decided by their own laws, all public and private controversies, and pronounced judgment in criminal cases. He who refused to submit to their deci-

was excluded from their facrifices, and shunned as a polluted person. With respect to the seats of judicature in the clanships, cantreds, or kingdom of Danmonium, it is very remarkable that we have many corresponding accounts proving the British courts to have been generally held in the open air and on high places. The British courts of judicature were sometimes called Gorseddau: And these Gorseddau were convened in the open air, on the fumnit or flope of a hill, near a pillar or pillars of stone, or within some appointed circle of stones, or some appropriated amphitheatre of stones and turf. In the regions of Caledonia and Ireland, they were held for ages after this period, on the fide of a hill; and the judges were feated on green banks of earth. And there is an ancient law in Wales, that respects this usage. The judge is there directed, with a view to his perfonal accommodation, to fit with his back to the fun or wind. It is not improbable, that many of these situations, which were fixed on for enacting or administering the laws, or for other solemn occasions of the legislature, had been previously consecrated to religion. Where could legal assemblies be held more properly than in places confecrated to religion, (a) already reverenced equally by the higher and inferior orders, and therefore likely to influence the governors as well as the governed? When any place had been diffinguished by the rites of worship, and was confidered with a kind of facred dread, as the habitation of the Deity, the laws enacted or enforced on the spot, would be thought to partake of its sacredness. The monument of Gilgal was first dignified by religious rites: And it afterwards became the seat of justice and national councils. (b) There are numberless spots in Danmonium, still marked by flone pillars or circles, or amphitheatres, which, in those early days, were, probably, set apart for the purposes of government. The single stone pillar often occurs in facred writ. Samuel made Bethel and Gilgal the annual feats of judgement. (c) At Gilgal, Saul was confirmed king, and the allegiance of his people renewed with facrifices and great festal joy. (d) At Mizpah, Jephtha was solemnly invested with the government of Gilead. (e) And the general council against Benjamin seems to have been held at this place. (f) At the stone of Shechem, erected by Joshua, Abimelech was made king—(g) Adonijah by the stone of Zoheleth. (b) Jehoash (i) was crowned king standing by a pillar. And Josiah (k) stood by a pillar, when he was making a solemn covenant with God.

Or DE VEPONIES (m) Ειαθεπι ζετοισι λιθοις ιερω ενι Κυκλω. Borlase proceeds to observe, "that circular monuments had still other uses, besides those of religion and law." Where these stone-benches are semicircular, and distinguished by feats and benches of like materials, there is no doubt but they were defigned to ex-

From these instances, it should seem, that pillars of stone were set up to distinguish places of extraordinary convention: But it is impossible to speak with precision on this point. Dr. Borlase is, perhaps, too fanciful in discriminating his courts of council and of judicature. His "stones to stand by," and "stones to stand upon," and "his stones to

fit on," are erected, probably, on a very fandy foundation. (1) To attribute particular pillars, or stone circles, to particular uses, must be a matter of the most hazardous conjecture. At the same time I allow, that the custom of "fitting on stones in council,"

was very ancient among the eastern nations. And in one of the sculptures on the shield of Achilles, the elders are convened in council, fitting on stone seats, within the facred

circle:

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<sup>(</sup>a) See Borlafe, p. 191, 192, 193. (b) 1 Sam. ii. 14. XV. 31, 33. (c) 1 Sam. VII. 16. (d) 1 Sam. XI. 14. (e) Judges, XI. 11. (f) Judges, XX. 1. 3. (g) Joshua, XXIV. 26. (b) 1 Kings, 1. 9. (i) 2 Kings, XI. 14. (k) 2 Kings, XXIII. 3. (l) The name of Dr. Borlase hath, frequently, occurred: And I have, sometimes, been under the

necessity of dissenting from this pleasing antiquarian, though in matters of mere speculation. On the whole, I am greatly indebted to his Antiquities, for affishance in my present research: They are replete with original investigation. If I have, any where, dropped a word that may appear diffespectful to Dr. Borlase, it should be referred to the particular point in discussion. I revere his memory! well assured, that he may justly be ranked among those few, whose learning was unaffected, whose manners were ingenuous, and whose religion was fincere.

<sup>(</sup>m) Homer's Iliad, p. 18, v. 504.

hibit plays. There is a theatre of this kind in Anglesea, resembling a horse-shoe, including an area of twenty paces diameter, with its opening to the west, called Bryn-grwyn, or Supreme Court. It lies in a place called Trer-Drew, or Druid's Town; whence it may be reasonably conjectured that this kind of structure was used by the Druids. It is somewhat singular that Borlase should have almost appropriated this theatre to plays and sports; when the name itself points out a place of judicature. He chose to call it a theatre; and he was afterwards misled by the sound. But the people usually assembled (says he) to hear plays acted, and to see the sports and games, in amphitheatres of stone, not broken as the cirques of stone-erect. The Doctor, then, notices an amphitheatre of the fort, "the most remarkable monument of the kind which he had yet seen"—the amphitheatre of St. Just, in Cornwall, which, if not appropriated to judicial matters, was chiefly designed, perhaps, for this purpose. And so, likewise, was the amphitheatre of Piran; both which shall be described in their proper places. We have great reason, therefore, to conclude, that many of the more striking monuments in Danmonium, which we have at this day an opportunity of observing, were, generally speaking, erected as judicial seats; though we have not sufficient data to determine what kinds of pillars, circles, or amphitheatres, were intended for ordinary meetings, or more solemn assemblies—or for the courts of a clan, of a cantred, or of a kingdom. In each of the six cantreds which I have enumerated, we may possibly find such vestiges of the British government. In the cantred of Isca there are several stone pillars and circles of stone, which are evi-

dently druidical. Perhaps, in this cantred, there are few druidical stones more remarkable than two rocks in the parish of Widworthy, or that point more clearly to the judicial assemblies of the Britons. One of these stones is a large slint rock, situated at the northern extremity of the parish of Widworthy. It is known by the name of the Grey-stone. It is five feet in height, and four in width and depth. And, at the southern extremity of the parish, is another stone of nearly the same dimensions. In the cantred of Durius, there seem to be a much greater number of druidical remains, than in the eastern part of Danmonium. On Hameldown in particular, in the parish of Manaton, is a large circle of stone, which is called Grimspound. This circular line of stone incloses an area of near three acres. And, on the area, are many small circles, confisting of fingle stones erect. That Grimspound was the seat of judicature for the cantred of Durius, is no improbable supposition. For the cantred of Tamara, we may fix, I think, the seat of judicature at Crockerntorr, on Dartmoor: here, indeed, it seems already fixed at our hands. And I have scarce doubt but the stannary parliaments at this place were a continuation even to our own times of the old British courts, before the times of Julius Cæfar. Those stannary parliaments were similar in every point of resemblance to the old British courts. Crockern-torr, from its situation in the middle of Dartmoor Forest, is undoubtedly a very strange place for holding a meeting of any kind. Exposed as it is to all the severities of the weather, and distant as it always hath been within our times, or within the memory of man, from every human habitation, we might well be surprised that it should have been chosen, for the spot on which our laws were to be framed; unless some peculiar sanctity had been attached to it in consequence of its appropriation to legal or judicial purposes, from the earliest antiquity. Besides, there is no other instance that I recollect, within our own times, of such a court, in so exposed and so remote a place. (a) On this Torr, not long fince, was the warden's or prefident's chair, feats for the jurors, a high corner stone for the cryer of the court, and a table, all rudely hewn out of the rough moorstone of the Torr, together with a cavern, which for the convenience of our modern courts, was used in these latter ages as a repository for wine. Notwithstanding this provision, indeed, Crockern-torr was too wild and dreary a place, for our legislators of the last generations; who, after opening their commission, and swearing the jurors on this spot, merely to keep up the old formalities, usually adjourned the court to one of the stannary towns. From the nature of this spot, open, wild, and remote, from the rocks that were the benches, and from the modes of proceeding, all fo like the ancient courts, and so unlike the modern; I judge Crockern-torr to have been the court of a cantred, or its place of convention, for the purposes of the legislature. And this cantred, according to my division of Danmonium, must have been Tamara. For the Cantred of Cenius, the British courts might possibly have been held, near

<sup>(</sup>a) Crockern-torre was just such a seat-of judicature as the Psalmist alludes to ... Let their judges be overthrown in stony places." Psalm 141.

that aftonishing stone monument which Borlase describes in the parish of Constantine. (a) From its vast magnitude and position, and from the scenery around it, I should conceive it to be well calculated to impress awe upon the multitude: and its extensive shadow might have diffused a more solemn air over chiefs assembled in council, or druids dispenfing justice. In the cantred of the Cimbri, we may fix the judgment seat, amidst that wild recess, the Valley of stones; where those learned antiquarians, Lyttelton and Milles, had imagined a variety of druidical monuments. (b) "I was pleased, (says Lyttelton in a letter to Milles) with the rude romantic scenes between Comb-martin and Linton, and particularly with what you apprehend to be a druid gorseddau." This gorseddau lies opposite to a karn of rocks, which is called the Cheese-avring. In the cantred of the Carnabii, Karnbre-hill, will, doubtless, exhibit a gorseddau: for, on this hill, we find almost every species of druid monuments, rocks, basons, circles, stones-erect, remains of cromlechs, karns, a grove of oaks, a cave, and a religious enclosure. On Karnbre-hill, Borlase has described a rock, which he supposed to be "one of the gorseddau, or places of elevation, whence the Druids pronounced their decrees. In some places, indeed, these gorseddau were made of earth: but it was plainly unnecessary to raise hillocks of earth, where so many stately rocks might contribute full as well to give proper dignity to the feat of judgment." (c) "The town about half-a-mile across the brook which runs at the bottom of Karnbre-hill, was anciently called Red-drew, or more properly Ryddrew, the Druid's-Ford, or Crossing of the Brook"—says Borlase: and the Doctor refers for his authority, to a grant of the fairs there, to the Bassets of Tehidy, in the time of Henry VII. (d) In the mean time, Pryce afferts, (e) that "Redruth—Dredruith—fignifies the Druid's Town." And of this he is affured, "from its vicinity to Karn-brea, that celebrated station of Druidical superstition; where are to be seen a multisarious collection of monumental druidism. Redruth—Ryd-dryth, is, also, the Red Ford. But that cannot be the name of the town, as there are deeds in the possession of Sir Francis Basset, Bart. where it is denominated Dredruith. This name is so very ancient, as to be given to the fituation of the town, before this kingdom was divided into parishes; as old writings express thus: In the parish of Uny juxta Dredruith. In fine, though the parish is now, and has been immemorially called Redruth, its real dedicatory name is St. Uny: and, therefore, if I mistake not, the town claims an evident antiquity, prior to any other in the county.' At all events, there is no doubt but *Redruth*, in the vicinity of Karnbre, was one of the chief towns of the Druids of Danmonium. And at *Plan-an-guare*, in *Redruth*, there were very lately the remains of an amphitheatre. (f) But the amphitheatres of St. Just and St. Piran, bear the most evident marks of the judicial court, in this cantred of the Carnabii. The amphitheatre of St. Just (in the hundred of Penwith) situated near the church, is somewhat disfigured by the injudicious repairs of late years; but, by the remains, it feems to have been a work of more than usual labour and correctness. It was an exact circle of one hundred and twenty-fix feet diameter. The perpendicular height of the bank, from the area within, is now feven feet: But the height from the bottom of the ditch without, at present ten feet, was formerly more. The seats consist of six steps, fourteen inches wide, and one foot high, with one on the top of all, where the rampart is about feven feet wide. There is a larger circular work, of higher mound, fossed on the outside, and very regular in the amphitheatre, in the parish of Piran-sand. The area of the amphitheatre, perfectly level, is about one hundred and thirty feet diameter. The benches, seven in number, of turf, rise eight feet from the (g) area. That plays were acted in these amphitheatres, I have not a doubt. But I concur with Mr. Whitaker in thinking, that these circles were originally designed for British courts of judicature. As we find that the Druids bore a conspicuous part in the legislature, perhaps we may place a Druid in each cantred, as the supreme judge; whilst the chiefs of the clanships

(a) See Borlafe's Antiquities, page 166.
(b) I have a few fcraps in the hand-writing both of Lyttelton and Milles, relating to the Valley of Stones; but nothing fatisfactory can be collected from them.

(c) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 114. (d) Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 116.

(e) Pryce's Vocabulary. (f) See Pryce's Vocabulary.

(g) For a more particular description of this curious work, I refer my readers to Borlase's Natural History, p. 298.

exercised a subordinate jurisdiction and presided in their inferior courts. But since there was an appeal from these inferior courts to the druidical, so, probably, there was an appeal from the cantreds to one court in Danmonium superior to all: And this must have been the regal or archidruidical court. "As there was an Archdruid in Gaul (fays Borlase) to preside in all cases of difficulty, importance, and solemnity; so, doubtless, in Britain—whence the Gauls had their plan—there was lodged the same or the like authority, in one, or more superior Druids." But I am inclined to think that there was one supreme Druid in every kingdom-fince in most instances, the different kingdoms or states of Britain, were independent on each other; and, fince the Druids had the principal management in every flate, both as legislators and judges. According to Casar, and other ancient authors, there was an Archdruid-to whom appeals were made from the tribunals of the inferior judges, and who always held an annual court at a fixed time, in fome central fituation. The chief refidence of the Archdruid of Gaul, was at Dreux, in the Pais Chartrain, in the very centre of Gaul. Here, on a confecrated fpot, he held his court. Of the British Archdruid's residence, Mr. Rowland thinks he has discovered some vestiges in the isle of Anglesea. But if we confine ourselves within the limits of Devonthire and Cornwall, and fix an archidruidical feat in the west, I should imagine that Drewsteington would be the most eligible spot. The very name of Drewsteington instantly determines its original appropriation to the Druids. And that this (a) " town of the Druids upon the river Teign," was the favourite refort of the Druids, is evident from a great variety of druidical remains which the most incurious spectator must necessarily observe, in the neighbourhood of the town, and which will hereafter be described. The only remaining Cromlech in Devonshire, marks this spot as more peculiarly the seat of the Druids: And the Archdruid, perhaps, could not have chosen a more convenient place for his annual affembly. (b)

Such, then, are my conjectures on the subject of our Danmonian government. Who our governors were, it would be vain to enquire. It would be fruitless to tearch for the names of the subordinate Chieftains, or of the cantred Druids; when the chronicled names of our Kings are, I conceive, for the most part, sabricated. Who our Kings were, the British chronicles pretend to tell us: yet if we look into remote antiquity, with a view of discovering the succession of our western Princes, we shall find, perhaps, not a single re-

cord that merits our notice, in the light of an historical document.

That Brute, commencing his reign over the Britons in the year of the world two thoufend eight hundred and fifty-nine, affigned these western territories to his valorous companion Corinæus, as the reward of an astonishing victory over the giant Gogmagog, whom the latter precipitated down the Plymouth cliff, is not literally the language of truth. But the founder of the western Kingdom had numerous successors to share his honors: and, if, when sacts are wanting, we are willing to seize on sable to supply the desciency, we may contemplate for more than a thousand years, the imaginary Princes of Danmo-

(a) Dru-sten-ton, says Borlase, Druid-stones-town: But if our author mean Drewssteignton in Devon-shire, he is certainly mistaken in his etymology. In his observations, however, on the druidical traces to be found in the names of towns, houses, hills, and brooks, he is, unquestionably, right. "All names that have Drudau Dru, Druwydd, Drudion, Derwyddon, Derw, and Dar, may be reckoned of Druid original: Thus Bod-dr. den, Druid's-bouse, Rhied-druith, nobilum Druidarum wadum—Drustenton, Druid's-stones-town—Goon-derw, the Druid's-downs—Tin-derw. Druid's-bill."

(b) "From the central fituation of the Cromlech, (fays Chapple) we might infer the fitness of the place for a druidical affizes; supposing that the present limits of this county were, then also, nearly the boundaries of a distinct province of druidical government in this western part of Britain. For we learn from Cæsar, (1) that the Druids of Gaul met annually in a place confectated and appropriated to that purpose, on the confines of Carnutum (now Chartres) then taken to be the middle of all Gaul; where people at variance resorted from all quarters to have their controversies and law-suits simally decided by those absolute judges, from whose sentence lay no appeal. From this, and Cæsar's surther testimony, concerning the origin of this discipline, which he tells us was supposed to have been first instituted in Britain, and from thence transferred to Gaul—whence, even then, persons desirous of being more persectly instructed in it, took a voyage hither to be better informed concerning it—we may reasonably conclude, that the Druids, in their distribution of justice, as well here as in Gaul, took all possible care to shorten the journies of the people obliged to attend their courts of judicature." Chapple's Description and Exegesis of the Prewsteington Cromlech.

of time, which feems diversified only by chimeras. Contenting myself, therefore, with a few observations, on the reputed Rulers of the west, before the time of Cæsar, I shall quickly hasten to more interesting enquiries. The annalist informs us, with all the gravity of truth, that about the time of the prophet Samuel, Guendolen the daughter of our hero, enjoyed Danmonium as her paternal inheritance. The most remarkable of her successors were Heninus, who married a daughter of King Lear, and his son Cunedagius, who filled the throne at the time of the building of Rome; and the two brothers, Belinus and Brennus, to the first of whom were allotted Loegria, Cambria or Danmonium—to the second, all from the river Humber to Cathness in Scotland. To Belinus and Brennus is ascribed the demolition of Rome; and, what is rather remarkable with respect to the sacking that great city, there is only the difference of twenty years between the British Chronology and the Roman Fasti. But to memorize the sections of these Princes would be tedious. It was in the year three thousand nine hundred and forty-six, (a) that Britain, invaded by Julius Cæsar, began to experience the shock of the Roman arms: and Theomantius, the second son of the samous British King Cassibelan, was, at this moment, Duke of Danmonium.

## SECTION III.

## VIEW of the RELIGION of DANMONIUM in the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. Druidiff the Religion of Danmonium—Its great Antiquity in this Island—evidently derived from the East, not the Continent of Europe.—II. Its Doctrines—secret—popular.—III. Its Rites and Ceremonies.—IV. Its Temples.—V. Parallel between the Danmonians and the Persians—proving the Eastern Origin of the Danmonians—Contrary Opinions examined.—VI. The corrupt Religion of the Phenicians—of the Greeks—of the Tribes from the neighbouring Continent.

THE earlier inhabitants of the island, in proportion as they were known to the nations around them, became, more and more, the objects of curiofity. The various angularities, that so strongly marked the Danmonians, must have stood forth prominent and bold, in contrast with the general European feature. Among these national peculiarities, the religion of Danmonium was also new: And so striking was its character of fanctity and wisdom, that it attracted the attention of the more learned and inquisitive among the Gauls, who were before unacquainted with the aboriginal islanders. The Celtic tribes from the Continent of Europe, could give Cæsar very little information respecting the Britons, except what related to their religion, which had been recently introduced into Gaul from Britain; but which was totally unknown in Germany, and other parts of the Continent. This religion, therefore, differed widely from the religion of Europe: We shall find that it bore a strong resemblance to the religion of Asia. It was Druidism: And, whether we consider its antiquity in Britain, its secret or popular doctrines, its rites and ceremonies, or its temples, we shall, on every view of the subject, perceive its eastern origin.

Mr. Carte (b) asserts, it seems, from Cæsar, "that the Druidical religion was from the most ancient times, the common religion of Britain, Gaul, and Germany; though Britain was most skilled in it:" Cæsar, however, says the very reverse. Cæsar informs us, that the Druid religion was but very lately introduced into Gaul, from Britain; and, that in his time, the Gauls still went to Britain for instruction. He expressly says, that the Germans had no Druids. So that Cæsar's report amounts to this—that Druidssm was the religion of Britain long before it was known in Gaul, and was established in

<sup>(</sup>a) Richard, p. 50.

(b) In justice to Mr. Carte, I should observe, that setting aside the Pons assiminus of antiquities, his history is well written. The antiquarian part of his work, is, doubtless, full of error. But his mistakes and inconsistencies on so obscure a subject, would have merited a very slight censure, had ingenuity thrown over his Hypothesis an air of speciousness. I do not blame his decisive manner: For, amidst the darkest ambiguities, a writer, who is animated by his subject, cannot always avoid decisiveness.

Gaul long before it was known in Germany. It feems to have been communicated to Germany about the time of Tiberius. We see, then, contrary to Carte's opinion, that Britain did not receive its religion from the Continent of Europe: Whence we may infer, that it was not originally peopled from hence; but that, probably, it was peopled long before the western parts of Europe were inhabited. Dr. Borlase himself admits the evidence of Cæsar, (a) to prove the seniority of druidism in Britain. " I must observe (fays our author, with great propriety and good fense) that none of the ancient authors deny what Cæsar advances: Strabo and Ponponius Mela, in their observations on the Druids, copy Cæsar as their best guide: Tacitus does not contradict him in any one point: (b) and, to silence our wonder how the Britons should give an order of priest-hood to their nearest neighbours the Gauls, Pliny, who is more circumstantial in describing the prices of Druids than any other writer affects, that the Britons were so expenses the solution of the Britans were so expenses the bing the rites of Druidism than any other writer, afferts, that the Britons were so excessively devoted to all the mysteries of magic, that they might seem to have taught even the Persians themselves this art. (c) There is another circumstance worthy of notice in what Cæsar says-which is, that the institution of the Druids was maintained in greater purity and strictness in Britain than in Gaul; and that, when the Gauls were at a loss in any point relating to this discipline, their custom was to go over to Britain for their better information. "Does not this (says Borlase, cautious as he is in advancing any thing new or unpopular) in a great measure confirm our ideas that the Gauls were taught this discipline by the Britons; and that the Britons, whenever any difficulty occurred, had recourse to the first fountain for instruction? The Druid Priesthood, then, was more ancient in Britain than either in Gaul or in Germany. Though we might vainly labour to ascertain the exact time of its appearance, yet we are assured that it had been established in Britain many centuries before the arrival of Cæsar. There were Druids in this island, remarkable for their antiquity, long before the times of Pythagoras, who lived fix hundred years before Christ. It is afferted by an ancient writer, that the Druids were venerated for their philosophy more than a thousand years before Pythagoras had promulged his doctrines in Italy. (d) And Aristotle and Clemens Alexandrinus concur in afferting the high antiquity of the British priesthood. But, setting these authorities aside, that single passage in Cæsar, where a popular idea is said to have been founded on a tradition from the Druids, (e) sufficiently speaks to their antiquity. It is a reference, in Cæsar's time, to the Druids of the earlier ages. In the mean time, the great resemblance which the Druids bore to the Persian Magi, Gymnosophists, and Brachmans, is a strong argument in favor of their antiquity. And Borlase is near the point of afferting, that fuch a conformity between islanders in the west, and the most remote nations in the east, "who do not appear (fays he) to have had the least communication fince the dispersion," can only be accounted for by supposing the Britons to be a colony from the

east, at the very time of the dispersion. But enough on this topic.

Let us consider the Druid religion. And first for its doctrines. It appears, that the British Druids, like the Indian Gymnosophists, or the Persian Magi, had two sets of doctrines—the first, for the initiated—the second, for the people. That there is one GOD, the creator of heaven and earth, was a fecret doctrine of the Brachmans. And the nature and perfection of the Deity were among the Druidical Arcana. (f) Pomponius Mela

(a) Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque in Galliam translata esse, existimatur. Druidism was sound in Britain and from thence translated into Gaul.

(b) The author of La Relig. de Gaulois, ingenuously confesses, that the Gauls had their religion

from Britain. Vol. I. p. 13.

(c) Druidarum disciplina in nostra Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur. Unde Plinius eleganter declamat lib. 30. bis verbis: "Sed quid ego bæc commemorem in arte oceanum quoque transgressa, et ad naturæ inane pervecta? Britania bodieque eam attonite celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit: Idem Julius Casar affirmatin Epomeridis: "Et nur, qui dili-

gentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi caussa, proficiscuntur." Richard Mon. p. 12.

(d) Pherecydes, Pythagoræ preceptor, primus publicavit Druidarum argumenta, pro animæ immortalitate. Hoffman's Dict. in verb.—Cæterum cuilibet vel modice perspicaci patebit, Druidas philosophatos plus mille annos antequam eruditio Pythagoræ innotuisset in Italia. Steph. Forcatulus de Gall. Imp. et Philos. p. 41.

(e) Cæfar L. 6. p. 127.

(f) Selden (on Drayton's Polyolbion) observes: "Although you may truly say with Origen, that before our Saviour's time, Britain acknowledged not one true God; yet it comes as near to what they

confirms this account of Cæsar: Druidas terræ mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus cali et siderum, et quid Dii velint scire se prositeri. And Lucan: Solis nosse Deos, et cæsi numina vobis. That these ideas were derived from (a) Noah, I have scarcely a doubt: numina vobis. They were brought into this island by the immediate descendants of those holy men, to whom only the secrets of Noah were communicated, and who, as consecrated to religion, were thus entrusted with the secrets of heaven. The imperishable nature of the foul was another doctrine of the Druids, which in its genuine purity, perhaps, was incommunicable to the vulgar. But the foul's immortality connected with many fenfitive ideas, was generally preached to the people. It was with unvarying firmness that the Druids afferted the immortality of the foul. And the universal influence of this doctrine on the conduct, excited the surprize of the Greeks and Romans. It was this, which inspired the soldier with courage in the day of battle; which animated the flave to die with his mafter, and the wife to share the fates of her husband; which urged the old and the feeble to precipitate themselves from rocks, and the victim to become a willing sacrifice. And hence, the creditor postponed his debts till the next life; and the merchant threw letters for his correspondents into the funeral fires, to be thence remitted into the world of spirits! (b) The Druids believed also, that the soul, having left one earthly habitation, entered into another—that from one body decayed and turned to clay, it passed into another fresh and lively, and sit to perform all the functions of animal life. This was the doctrine of transmigration, maintained in common by the Druids and the Brachmans. (c) Sir William Jones describes a great empire—the empire of Iran; the religion of which was Sabian; so called from the word Saba, that signifies a host, or more properly the host of heaven, in the worship of which the Sabian ritual consisted. Mahabeli was the first monarch of Iran. His religion he was faid to have received from the Creator, as well as the orders established throughout his monarchy-religious, military, mercantile, and servile. These regulations were faid to be written in the language of the Gods. (d) The tenets of this religion were, that there was but one God, pure and good—that the foul was immortal, and an emanation from the Deity—that it was for a feason separated from the supreme Being, and confined to the earth to inhabit human bodies, but would return to the Divine Essence again. The purer sectaries of this religion maintained, that the worship of fire was merely popular; and that they appeared only to venerate that fun upon whose exalted orb they fixed their eyes, whilst they really humbled themselves before the supreme God. They were assiduous observers of the motions of the heavenly luminaries, and established artificial cycles, with distinct names, to indicate the periods, in which the

Lucan, and other authors might convince us. For, although Apollo, Mars, and Mercury, were worthipped among the vulgar Gauls; yet it appears that the Druids invocation was to one all healing and all faving Power!

(a) A Chaldean inscription was discovered some centuries ago, in Sicily, on a block of white mar-ble. A Bishop of Lucera, who wrote on the subject, afferts: That the city of Palermo was sounded by the Chaldeans, in the earliest ages of the world. The literal translation of this inscription is as follows: "During the time that Isaac, the son of Abraham, reigned in the valley of Damascus, and Esau, the son of Isaac, in Idumea, a great multitude of Hebrews, accompanied by many of the people of Damascus, and many Phenicians, coming into this triangular island, took up their habitation in this most beautiful place, to which they gave the name of Panormus." The Bishop translates another Chaldean inscription, which is over one of the old gates of the city. This is extremely curious—"There is no other God but one God. There is no other power but this same God. There is no other conqueror but this same God whom we adore. The commander of this tower is Saphu, the son of Eliphas, the son of Esau, brother of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham. The name of the tower is Beyeh; and the name of the neighbouring tower is Pharat." tower is Beyeh; and the name of the neighbouring tower is Pharat.'

(b) See Borlase's Antiquities, p. 98.
(c) That the Druids believed in the immortality of the soul, and in its transmigration from one body to another, is not only affirmed by Cæsar, as we have seen, but by many ancient writers.

Αφθαβίθες τας ψυχας λεγεσ:—fays Strabo. And Lucan: Vobis autoribus, umbræ

Non tacitas erebi sedes, ditisque profundi Pallida regna petunt-regit idem spiritus artus Orbe alio longa, canitis fi cognita, vita:

See also Val. Maximus and Diodorus.

(d) All the sculptures of Persepolis are purely Sabian.

fixed stars appeared to revolve. They are also said to have known the fecret powers of nature, and thence to have acquired the reputation of magicians. Sects of these still remain in India, called Sufi, clad in woollen garments or mantles. In ancient times, every priesthood among the eastern nations had several species of facred characters, which they used in their hiero-grammatic writings, to render their religion more mysterious; whilst they preserved its written doctrines and precepts in such characters as none but their own order could understand. These sacred characters have been often noticed by Antiquarians, under the denomination of Ogham. (a) The Ogham characters were used by the priests of India and Persia, the Ægyptians and Phenicians, and the Druids of the British isles. Sir William Jones tells us, that the writings at Persepolis bear a strong resemblance to the Ogham—that the unknown inscriptions in the palace of Jemschid are in the same characters, and are, probably, sacerdotal and secret, or a sacerdotal cypher; and that the word Ogham is Sanscrit, and means "mysterious knowledge." That fimilar inscriptions are to be found in Ireland, is abundantly proved by Colonel Vallancey. But, the most extraordinary circumstance is, that the word Ogham still continues among the people of Indostan, Persia, and Ireland, with the same sacred meaning annexed to it! The Druids not only concealed, in this manner, their fecret tenets from the knowledge of the people, but they often instructed their pupils by symbolical representations, with the same view of involving their doctrines in mystery, and rendering them too dark for the vulgar apprehension. This mode of instruction was truly oriental. And to prove that the Druids were even refined in their allegories, the picture of Hercules Ogmius, as described by Lucian, need only be produced. (b) There is another evidence of the symbolical learning of the Druids in Basso Relievo; discovered, some time since, over the door of the temple of Montmorillon, in Poictou. It is a lively representation of the several stages of life, at which the Druid disciples were gradually admitted into the mysteries of the Druid system. (c)

From these mysteries of the Druids, let us pass to their popular doctrines. Amidst the sub-

From these mysteries of the Druids, let us pass to their popular doctrines. Amidst the sublimer tenets of this priesthood, we have every where apparent proofs of their polytheism. And the grossness of their religious ideas, as represented by some writers, is very inconsistent with that divine philosophy, which we have considered as a part of their character. These, however, were popular divinities, which the Druids oftensibly worshipped, and popular notions which they oftensibly adopted, in conformity with the prejudices of the vulgar mind. The Druids well knew, that the common people were no philosophers. There is reason, also, to think that a great part of the idolatries I am about to mention, were not originally sanctioned by the Druids, but afterwards introduced by the Phenician colony. But it would be impossible to say, how far the primitive Druids accommodated themselves to vulgar superstition, or to separate their exterior doctrines and ceremonies from the sables and absurd rites of subsequent times. Cæsar thus recounts the popular divinities. "Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Hujus sunt plurima simulacra. Hunc omnium artium inventorem ferunt; hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem; hunc ad quastus pecuniæ mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc, Apollinem, et Martem, et Jovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere quam reliquæ gentes habent opinionem—Apollinem

(a) In ancient Punic Hogham fignifies wisdom.

(c) There is a plate of it in Montfaucon's Supplement, tom. 2, p. 221. and in the Religion de Gaules, vol. 1, p. 144. And Borlase has very satisfactorily explained it—See his Antiquities, p. 101,

<sup>(</sup>b) Hercules was there exhibited, and known by his usual ornaments; but instead of the gigantic body and fierce countenance given him by others, the Druids painted him, to Lucian's great surprize, aged, bald, decrepid: and to his tongue were fastened chains of gold and amber, which drew along a multitude of persons, whose ears appeared to be fixed to the other end of those chains. And one of the Druid philosophers thus explains the picture to Lucian. "We do not agree with the Greeks in making Mercury the God of eloquence. According to our system, this honor is due only to Hercules, because he so far surpasses Mercury in power. We paint him advanced in age, because eloquence exerts not all her most animated powers but in the mouths of the aged. The link there is, between the tongue of the eloquent and the ears of the aged, justifies the rest of the representation. By understanding his history in this sense, we neither dishonour Hercules, nor depart from the truth: For we hold it indisputably true, that he succeeded in all his noble enterprizes, captivated every heart, and subdued every brutal passion, not by the strength of his arms (for that was impossible) but by the powers of wisdom, and by the sweetness of his persuasion." See Borlase's Antiquities, p. 100.

travellers,

morbos depellere—Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia transdere—Jovem imperium calestium tenere—Martem bella regere." (a) The origin of the British Gods, has been generally attributed to the Phenicians or Canaanites. The God whom the Romans compared to Jupiter, was worshipped by the name of Taram or Taramis, and of Thor—both which names signify the Thunderer, in Phenician. The God whom the Romans compared to Mercury, was worshipped by the name of Teutates or Theutates, or Taautes or Thoth—the Phenician name for the son of Misor. The God whom the Romans compared to Mars, was worshipped under the name of Hizzus or Hesus, and also by the name or Cham or Camu or Camo—called by the Romans Camulus. He was, also, called *Hues*—which is another name for *Bacchus* or *Bar-chus*—that is, the *fon of Chus*. The Greeks adopted the *Hues* in the rites or orgies of Bacchus. It is of Phenician origin, and fignifies *Fire!* And, as fuch, *Bacchus* was worshipped! The God whom the Romans compared to Apollo was worshipped by the name of Bel-ain, or, as the Romans called him, Belinus. He was, also, called Bel-atre-cadrus, from the Phenician, Bel-atur-cares, fignifying, Sol Assyriae Deus. The God whom the Romans compared to Diana, was Belisama: It is a Phenician word, fignifying, the Queen of heaven. The God whom the Romans compared to Minerva, was worshipped by the name of Onca, Onva, or Onvana; the Phenician word for that Goddess. The God whom the Romans compared to Venus, was worshipped by the name of Andraste—the Astarte of the Phenicians. The other Gods of the Britons were the Pluto, Proserpine, Ceres, and Hercules of the Romans. Of these divinities the Druids had symbolical representations: A cube was the symbol of Mercury, and the (b) oak of Jupiter. But it would be a vain attempt to enumerate their Gods. In the eye of the vulgar they deified every object around them. They worshipped the spirits of the mountains, the vallies, and the rivers. Every rock and every spring were either the instruments or the objects of adoration. The moon-light vallies of Danmonium were filled with the faery people: And its numerous rivers were the refort of Genii. The fiction of Faeries is supposed to have been brought, with other fantastic extravagancies of a like nature, from the eastern nations, whilst the European christians were engaged in the holy war: Such, at least, is the notion of an ingenious writer, who thus expresses himself: " Nor were the monstrous embellishments of enchantments, the invention of romancers; but formed upon eastern tales, brought thence by travellers from their crusades and pilgrimages, which, indeed, have a cast peculiar to the wild imagination of the eastern people." (c) That Facries, in particular, came from the east, we are assured by that learned orientalist, M. Herbelot, who tells us, that the Persians called the Faeries Peri, and the Arabs Genies; that, according to the eastern fiction, there is a certain country inhabited by Faeries called Ginnistian, which answers to our Faery-land; and that the ancient romances of Persia are full of Peri or Faeries. (d) Mr. Warton, (e) in his observations on Spenser's Faery-queen, is decided in his opinion, that the Faeries came from the east: But he justly remarks, that they were introduced into this country long before the period of the Crusades. The race of Faeries, he informs us, were established in Europe, in very early times. But "not universally," says Mr. Warton. The Faeries were confined to the north of Europe—to the ultima Thule—to the British isles—to the divisis orbe Britannis. They were unknown, at this remote zera, to the Gauls or the Germans. And they were probably familiar to the vallies of Scotland and Danmonium, when Gaul and Germany were yet unpeopled either by real or imaginary beings. The belief, indeed, of such invisible agents assigned to different parts of nature, prevails, at this very day, in Scotland and in Devonshire and Cornwall—regularly transmitted from the remotest antiquity to the present times, and totally unconnected with the spurious romance of the Crusader or the Pilgrim. Hence those superstitious notions, now existing in our western villages, where (f) the Spriggian are still believed to delude benighted

(a) Lib. 6.

(b) Their affected veneration for the oak, and even the oak-missetoe, is well known.

Supplement to the Trans. Pref. to Jarvis's Don Quixotte.

(d) Herbelot tells us, that there is an Arabian book, entitled "Pieces de corai! amasses sur ce qui regarde le Ginnes, ou Genies." But, above all, see the Arabian Night's Entertainments.

(e) See Warton's Observat. on Spenser, vol. 1. p. 64.

(f) "That the Druids worshipped rocks, stones, and fountains, and imagined them inhabited, and actuated by divine intelligences of a lower rank, may be plainly inferred from their stone-monuments. These inferior deities, the Cornish call Spriggian, or Spirits; which answer to Genii or Faeries: And the vulgar in Cornwall still discourse of their Spriggian, as of real beings; and pay them a kind of veneration." Borlase's Antiquities, p. 107.

travellers, to discover hidden treasures, to influence the weather, and to rule the winds. "THIS, then, fays our excellent critic, in the most decisive manner-THIS, fays WARTON, STRENGTHENS THE HYPOTHESIS OF THE NOTHERN PARTS OF EUROPE BEING PEOPLED BY COLONIES FROM THE EAST!" The inhabitants of Shetland (a) and the isles, pour libations of milk or beer through a holed stone, in honor to the spirit Browny-and I doubt not but the Danmonii were accustomed to facrifice to the same spirit; since the Cornish and the Devonians on the borders of Cornwall, invoke, to this day, the spirit Browny, on the swarming of their bees. (b) With respect to rivers, it is a certain fact that the primitive Britons paid them divine honors. Even now, in many parts of Devonshire and Cornwall, the vulgar may be said to worship brooks and wells, to which they refort at stated periods, performing various ceremonies in honor of those consecrated waters. And the Highlanders, to this day, talk with great respect of the genius of the sea; never bathe in a fountain, lest the elegant spirit that resides in it should be offended and remove; and mention not the water of rivers without prefixing to it the name of excellent. (c) And in one of the western islands, the inhabitants retained the custom to the close of the last century, of making an annual sacrifice to the genius of the ocean. (d) That at this day, the inhabitants of India deify their principal rivers, is a well-known fact: the waters of the Ganges possess an uncommon sanctity. And the modern Arabians (like the Ishmaelites of old) concur with the Danmonii, in their reverence of springs and sountains. Even the names of the Arabian and Danmonian wells have a striking correspondence. We have the (e) finging-well, or the white fountain: and there are springs with similar names in the deserts of Arabia. (f) Perhaps, the veneration of the Danmonii for fountains and rivers, may be accepted as no trivial proof to be thrown into the mass of circumstantial evidence, in favor of their eastern original. That the Arabs, in their thirsty deserts, should even adore their "wells of springing water," need not excite our furprize. But we may justly wonder at the inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall thus worshipping the Gods of numerous rivers, and never-failing brooks, familiar to every part of Danmonium.

The Druid rites come next to be considered. The principal times of devotion among the Druids, were either midday or midnight. The officiating Druid was cloathed in a white garment that swept the ground. On his head he wore the tiara. He had the anguinum or serpents egg, as the ensign of his order: his temples were encircled with a wreath of oak-leaves; and he waved in his hand the magic rod. (g) As to the Druid sacrifice we have

various

(a) See Martin, p. 391.
(b) The Cornish cry, Browny! Browny! from a belief, that this invocation will prevent the return of the bees into their former hive, and make them pitch, and form a new colony.

(c) See Macpherson's Introduction to the History of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 163, 164.

(d) See Harris's Western Islands, Edit. 2. p. 28, 29.

(e) Fen-tergan, the fountain of the fingers, the finging-well, or the white fountain. Dr. Pryce.

(f) See Arabian Nights Entertainment - a genuine work.

(g) Among the Druid ceremonies, the cutting of the misletoe should be noticed. One of Mr. Urban's correspondents mentions "a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Penzance, in the western part of Cornwall, who has been curious in making such a collection of antiquities, as chance or his endeavours could furnish him with. Among other things in this cabinet (says the correspondent) I particularly distinguished a piece of gold in the form of a crescent, supposed, I think upon sufficient authority, to have been worn always by the Druid when he performed the ceremony of cutting the misletoe. Although the religious worship of the Druids was polluted with human facrisces, yet it appears that these extreme propitiations of the Deity were resorted to only upon very extraordinary occasions, such, for instance, as when an invassion, or their darling liberty, was threatened. For we learn that many of the rites, which the crasty policy of that order of priesthood had imposed upon the ignorance and credulity of the people, were yet innocent in their nature, and well enough adapted to the rude notions of uncultivated life. The power of healing, which was found to reside in herbs, could not fail to attract the notice of the Druids, and to promote their interests by an obvious delusion. The natural effects, which resulted from their application to the human body, were by them ascribed to celestial influences and supernatural interpositions: but, when the herb was cut or gathered, the presence and consecration of a Druid were necessary, without which every hope of relief was vain; nor did any impious patient ever dare to provoke the anger of the gods by an unauthorized appeal to their interference. Among other herbs or plants, the misletoe, from its near affinity to the oak, that principal object of the British worship, was held in peculiar veneration. No prosane hand could presume to cut the facred misletoe; nor were all times and seasons proper for the performance

various and contradictory representations It is certain, however, that the Druids offered human victims to their gods. And there was an awful mysteriousness in the original Druid facrifice. Having descanted on the human facrifices of various countries, Mr. Bryant informs us, that among the nations of Canaan, the victims were chosen in a peculiar manner. Their own children and whatsoever was nearest and dearest to them, were thought the most worthy offerings to their god! The Carthaginians, who were a colony from Tyre, carried with them the religion of their mother country, and instituted the from Tyre, carried with them the religion of their mother country, and instituted the fame worship in the parts where they settled. It consisted in the adoration of several deities, but particularly of Kronus, to whom they offered human sacrifices, the most beautiful victims they could select. Parents offered up their own children as dearest to themselves, and therefore the more acceptable to the deity: They sacrificed "the fruit of their body for the sin of their soul." Kronus was an oriental divinity—the god of light and fire; and, therefore, always worshipped with some reference to that element. He was the Moloch of the Tyrians and Canaanites, and the Melech of the east. Philo Byblius tells us, that in some of these facrifices there was a particular mystery, in consequence of an example which had been set these people by the god Kgor, who, in a time of distress, offered up bis only fon to his father Ougavos. When a person of distinction brought an only son to the altar and flaughtered him by way of atonement, to avert any evil from the people-his was properly the myfical facrifice, imitated from Kens ; or from Abraham offering up his only fon Isaac. Mr. Bryant is of opinion, that this mystical sacrifice was a typical representation of the great vicarial sacrifice that was to come. At first, there is no doubt but the Druids offered up their human victims, with the same sublime views. The Druids maintained, quod pro vita hominis nisi vita hominis reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari. (a) This mysterious doctrine is not of men, but of God! It evidently points out THE ONE GREAT SACRIFICE FOR THE SINS OF THE WHOLE WORLD! But after the Phenician colonies had mixed with the primeval Britons, this degenerated priesthood seem to have delighted in human blood: and their victims, though fometimes beafts, were oftener men. And not only criminals and captives, but their very disciples were inhumanly facrificed on their altars; whilst some transfixed by arrows, others crucified in their temples, some instantly stabled to the heart, and others impaled in honor of the gods, bespoke, amidst variety of death, the most horrid proficiency in the science of murder. But the druid holo-caust, that monstrous image of straw, connected and shaped by wicker-work, and promiscuously crouded with wild beasts and human victims, was, doubtless, the most infernal sacrifice, that was ever invented by the human imagination. (b) These cruelties were certainly not attached to primitive druidism:

formance of this rite: for so did the superstition of the people receive it. But when the moon had passed her first quarter, a Druid, specially appointed, arrayed in white, a golden hook in his hand, a golden crescent fastened upon his garment, approached the plant, and performed the ceremony of cutting, amidst the concourse and acclamations of the surrounding multitude. The hook or knise was of gold, that the misseo might escape the pollution of every baser metal; and the crescent of gold represented, by a single image, that time of the moon before which it was not lawful to cut the mystic plant. This very singular piece of antiquity was discovered by a common labourer in turning up the ground near Penzance; and saved from rustic ignorance, which would have fold it for old gold, by the good fortune and virtû of John Price, esq. of Chuane, in the neighbourhood of that town, in whose cabinet it remains for the inspection of the curious. The plate of gold from whence it is fashioned is extremely thin, much too thin for the superficial dimensions, probably on account of the great scarcity of metal in those days, which by the bye, if any doubt could be entertained, would be an additional proof of its original designation. With respect to its sigure, the best description I can propose to the reader is, by referring him to the moon, its prototype, at that period of its increase when, as I before stated, the ceremony of cutting the misseo was performed; its size and weight (its weight very trissing) being such as to make it an ornament, and not an incumberance, upon the garment. Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 61, p. 34.

(a) Cæfar, p. 124.

(b) In an ode written on the isle of Mann, to the memory of bishop Wilson, at the request of Dr. Wilson his son, and Mrs. Macaulay Graham, the author thus describes the Druids and their sacrifices:

Amidst these glooms in pity glide,
For, here he joy'd to rove

they are to be ascribed to the Phenician colonists, of a subsequent period. Among the Druid ceremonies, may be reckoned also the turnings of the body, during the times of worship. The numerous round monuments in Danmonium, (a few of which will be defcribed in the next fection) were formed for the purpose of this mysterious rite. In several of the Scottish isles, at this day, the vulgar never approach "the fire hallowing karne," without walking three times round it from east to west, according to the course of the sun. The Druids probably turned sunways, in order to bless and worship their gods; and the contrary way, when they intended to curse and destroy their enemies. The first kind of turning has been called the deifol: the second the tuaphol. Tacitus alludes to the latter in a very remarkable passage: Druidæque circum preces diras, sublatis ad cælum manibus, fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere milites. The Roman soldiers, we see, were terrified by the novelty of this rite—a plain proof that it was unknown to those countries which had been subjected to the Roman yoke. The holy fires of the Druids may also deserve our notice. We have, at this day, traces of the fire-worship of the Druids, in several customs both of the Devonians and the Cornish: But, in Ireland, we may still see the holy fires, in all their folemnity. The Irish call the month of May, bel-tine, or fire of Belus; and the first of May, la-bel-tine, or the day of Belus's fire. In an old Irish glossary, it is mentioned, that the Druids of Ireland used to light two solemn fires every year; through which all four-footed beafts were driven, as a preservative against contagious distempers. The Irish have this custom at the present moment: they kindle the fire in their milking-yards-men, women, and children, pass through, or leap over it; and their cattle are driven through the slames of the burning straw, on the first of May. And, in the month of November, they have also, their fire-feasts; when, according to the custom of the Danmonian as well as the Irish Druids, the hills were enveloped in flame. Previously to this solemnity, (on the eve of November) the fire in every private house was extinguished: Hither, then, the people were obliged to resort, in order to re-kindle it. The ancient Persians named the

In elder times, when mystic strains
Echoed through consecrated fanes,
And rites of magic charm'd the reverential grove.

Who now, while memory views in tears
The curtain'd scene of former years,
Shall guard these dimwood rocks;
Where Genii, oft, on founding wings,
Flutter'd, at evening, o'er the springs

That lav'd the wreathing roots of you fantaftic oaks?

Who now shall join the minstrel's lay,
While glitter to the full moon's ray
Their high strung harps of gold;
Or, who survey the sweeping pall
Of bards, amid the festal hall,
The Druid's floating pomp and hoary seers of old?

Who now, where, stain'd with sacred blood,
The central oak o'ertops the wood,
Shall see the victim laid
Shivering—on the dark shrine—and pale,
As midnight stills the spectred vale,
And, listed for the stroke, the lightning of the blade?

What! dost thou mourn the vanish'd rite
That gave to horror the pale night,
And shook the blasted wood;
While, as the victim's dying cries
Announc'd the buman facrifice,

Scar'd at the infernal fcene, the moon went down in blood?"

See bishop Wilson's works, quarto edition, vol. 1, p. 137, appendix. The author well remembers, that after passing a truly philosophic hour, with Mrs. Macaulay and Dr. Wilson, at Alfred House in Bath, he proceeded to Oxford, where, at Ch. Ch. he wrote the ode in question, on the evening of his arrival, and immediately dispatched it to the Bath printer; as Wilson's works, he understood, were almost ready for publication.

month

month of November, Adur, or fire. Adur, according to Richardson, was the angel prefiding over that element: in consequence of which, on the ninth, his name-day, the
country blazed all around with flaming piles; whilst the magi, by the injunction of
Zoroaster, visited, with great solemnity, all the temples of fire throughout the empire;
which, on this occasion, were adorned and illuminated in a most splendid manner. Hence
our British illuminations in November had probably their origin. It was at this season,
that Baal Samham called the souls to judgment, which, according to their deserts, were
assigned to re-enter the bodies of men or brutes, and to be happy or miserable during
their next abode on the earth. But the punishment of the wicked, the Druids taught,
might be obliterated by sacrifices to Baal. The sacrifice of the black sheep, therefore, was
offered up for the souls of the departed, and various species of charms (a) exhibited.

(a) The primitive christians, attached to their pagan ceremonies, placed the feast of All-souls on the La Samon, or the second day of November. Even now, the peasants in Ireland assemble on the vigil of La Samon, with sticks and clubs, going from house to house, collecting money, breadcake, butter, cheefe, eggs, &c. for the feast; repeating verses in honor of the solemnity, and calling for the black Candles are fent from house to house, and lighted up on the Samon, (the next day). sheep. Candles are fent from house to house, and lighted up on the Samon, (the next day). Every house abounds in the best viands the master can afford: apples and nuts are eaten in great plenty; the nutshells are burnt; and from the ashes many strange things are foretold. Hempseed is fown by the maidens, who believe that, if they look back, they shall see the apparition of their intended hufbands. The girls make various efforts to read their deftiny: they hang a smock before the fire at the close of the feast, and sit up all night concealed in a corner of the room, expecting the apparition of the lover to come down the chimney and turn the smock: they throw a ball of yarn out of the window, and wind it on the reel within, convinced that if they repeat the pater-noster backwards, and look at the ball of yarn without, they shall then also see his apparition. Those who celebrate this feast, have numerous other rites derived from the Pagans. They dip for apples in a tub of water, and endeavour to bring one up in their mouths: they catch at an apple when fluck on at one end of a kind of hanging beam, at the other extremity of which is fixed a lighted candle; and that with their mouths only, whilft it is in a circular motion; having their hands tied behind their backs. A learned correspondent, (whose name it would ill become me to mention in this place, but whose patronage I shall be proud to acknowledge hereafter) thus writes from Ireland: "There is no fort of doubt but that Baal and fire was a principal object of the ceremonies and adoration of the Druids. The principal feafons of thefe, and of their feafts in honor of Baal, were new-year's day, when the fun began visibly to return towards us: this custom is not yet at an end, the country people still burning out the old year and welcoming the new, by fires lighted on the tops of hills, and other high places. was the month of May, when the fruits of the earth begun in the eastern countries to be gathered, and the first fruits of them confecrated to Baal, or to the fun, whose benign influence had ripened them; and I am almost persuaded that the dance round the may-pole in that month, is a faint image of the rites observed on such occasions. The next great festival was on the twenty-first of June, when the sun, being in Cancer, first appears to go backwards and leave us. On this occasion, the Baalim used to call the people together, and to light fires on high places, and to cause their sons and their daughters, and their cattle, to pass through the fire, calling upon Baal to bless them, and not to forsake them. This is still the general practice in Ireland; nor, indeed, in any country are there more Cromlechs, or proofs of the worship of Baal or the sun, than in that kingdom; concerning which, I can give you a tolerable account, having been, myself, an eye-witness to this great festival in June. But I must first bring to your recollection the various places in Ireland, which still derive their names from Baal, such as Baly-shannon, Bal-ting-las, Bal-carras, Belfast, and many more. Next I must premise, that there are in Ireland a great number of towers, which are called Fire-towers, of the most remote antiquity, concerning which there is no certain history. their construction being of a date prior to any account of the country. Being at a gentleman's house, about thirty miles west of Dublin, to pass a day or two, he told us, on the 21st of June. we should see an odd fight, at midnight. Accordingly, at that hour, he conducted us out upon the top of his house, where, in a few minutes, to our great astonishment, we saw fires lighted on all the high places round, some nearer and some more distant: We had a pretty extensive view, and I should suppose, might see near fifteen miles each way. There were many heights in this extent, and on every height was a fire: I counted not less than forty. We amused ourselves with watching them, and with betting which hill would be lighted first. Not long after, on a more attentive view, I discovered shadows of people near the fire, and round it: and every now and then, they quite darken'd it. I enquired the reason of this, and what they were about? and was immediately told, they were not only dancing round, but passing through the fire; for that it was the custom of the country, on that day, to make their families, their sons and their daughters, and their cattle, pass through the fire, without which they could expect no success in their dairies, nor in the crops, that year.

Baal-samhaim, a Phenician appellation of the god of Baal, in Irish signifies the planet of the fun. Meni is an appellation of the same deity. "Ye are they that forget my holy mountain (says Isaiah) that prepare a table for Gad, and furnish the drink-offering unto Meni." According to Jerom and several others, Gad signifies fortune, or good-fortune, and, in this fense, is used in the 11th verse of the 30th chapter of Genesis. Those passages in Jeremiah, where the prophet marks the superstition of the Jews, in making cakes for the Queen of heaven, are very similar to this of Isaiah. At this very day we discover vestiges of the festival of the sun, on the eve of All-souls. As, at this festival, the Pagans "ate the facrifices of the dead"—so our villagers, on the eve of All-souls, burn muts and shells, to Fortune, and pour out libations of ale to Meni. The Druids, who were the Magi of the Britons, had an infinite number of rites in common with the Per-fians. One of the chief functions of the eastern magi, was divination: And Pomponius Mela tells us, that our Druids possessed the same art. There was a solemn rite of divination among the Druids, from the fall of the victim and convulsion of his limbs, or the nature and position of his entrails. But the British priests had various kinds of divina-tion. By the number of criminal causes, and by the increase or diminution of their own order, they predicted fertility or scarceness. From the neighing or prancing of white horses, harnessed to a consecrated chariot—from the turnings or windings of a hare let loose from the bosom of the diviner (with a variety of other ominous appearances or exhibitions) they pretended to determine the events of futurity. Of all creatures, however, the serpent exercised, in the most curious manner, the invention of the Druids. To the samous Anguinum they attributed high virtues. The Anguinum or Serpent'segg, was a congeries of small snakes rolled together, and incrusted with a shell, formed by the saliva or viscous gum or froth of the mother-serpent. This egg, it seems, was tossed into the air by the hissings of its dam; and, before it fell again to the earth (where it would be defiled) it was to be received in the fagus, or facred vestment. The person who caught the egg, was to make his escape on horseback; since the serpent pursued the ravisher of its young, even to the brink of the next river. (a) Pliny, from whom this account is taken, proceeds with an enumeration of other absurdities relating to the Anguinum. This Anguinum is, in British, called Glain-neider, or the Serpent of Glass: And the same superstitious reverence which the Danmonii universally paid to the Anguinum, is still discoverable in some parts of Cornwall. (b) Mr. Lhuyd informs us, that the Cornish retain variety of charms, and have still, towards the Land's-end, the amulets of Maen Magal and Glain-neidr-which latter they call a Melprev, and have a charm for the fnake to make it, when they have found one asleep, and stuck a hazel wand in the centre of her spiræ." Camden tells us, that "in most part of Wales, and throughout all Scotland, and Cornwall, it is an opinion of the vulgar, that about Midsummer-eve, (though in the time they do not all agree) the fnakes meet in companies; and that by joining heads together and hiffing, a kind of bubble is formed, which the rest, by continual histing, blow on till it passes quite through the body; when it immediately hardens and resembles a glass ring, which, whoever finds, shall prosper in all his undertakings. The rings, thus generated, are called Gleinu Nadroeth, or Snake-stones. They are small glass amulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger-rings, but much thicker, of a green—color usually, though fometimes blue, and waved with red and white." Carew fays, that "the country-people, in Cornwall, have a persuasion, that the snakes breathing upon a hazel-wand, produce a stone-ring of blue color, in which there appears the yellow figure of a snake, and that beasts bit and envenomed, being given some water to dried where the beast some install persuasion of the resident "(a) drink, wherein this stone has been infused, will perfectly recover of the poison." (c) From the animal the Druids passed to the vegetable world; and there, also, displayed their powers, whilst, by the charms of the misletoe, the selago and the samolus, they

I bowed, and recognized the god Baal. This custom is chiefly preserved among the Roman Catholics, whose bigotry, credulity, and ignorance, has made them adopt it from the ancient Irish, as a tenet of the christian religion. The Protestants do not observe it: But it was the universal custom in Ireland, before christianity.

<sup>(</sup>a) Lib. 29, c. 3.

(b) In his Letter, dated March 10, 1701, to Rowland, p. 342.

(c) See Carew's Survey, p. 22. Mr. Carew had a stone-ring, of this kind, in his possession:

And the person who gave it him avowed, that "he himself saw a part of the stick sticking in it" but " penes authorem fit fides" - fays Mr. Carew. prevented

prevented or repelled disease, and every species of missortune. They made all nature, indeed, subservient to their magical art; and rendered even the rivers and the rocks prophetic. From the undulation or bubbling of water, stirred by an oak branch or magic wand, they foretold events that were to come. This superstition of the Druids, is even now retained in the western counties. To this day, the Cornish have been accustomed to consult their famous well, at Madern, or rather the spirit of the well, respecting their suture destiny. "Hither (says Borlase) come the uneasy, impatient, and superstitious; and by dropping pins or pebbles into the water, and by shaking the ground round the spring, so as to raise bubbles from the bottom, at a certain time of the year, moon, and day, endeavour to remove their uneasiness: Yet the supposed responses serve equally to encrease the gloom of the melancholy, the suspicions of the jealous, and the passion of the enamoured. The Castalian Fountain, and many others among the Grecians, was supposed to be of a prophetic nature. By dipping a fair mirror into a well, the Patræans of Greece received, as they supposed, some notice of ensuing sickness or health, from the various sigures portrayed upon the surface. The people of Laconia cast into a pool, sacred to Juno, cakes of bread-corn: If the cakes sunk, good was portended: If they swam, something dreadful was to ensue. Sometimes, the superstitious threw three stones into the water; and formed their conclusions from the several turns they made in sinking." The Druids were, likewise, able to communicate, by consecration, the most portentous virtues to rocks and stones, which could determine the succession of princes or the fate of empires. To the Rocking or (a) Logan-stone, in particular, they had recourse to confirm their authority, either as prophets or judges, pretending that its motion was miraculous.

their authority, either as prophets or judges, pretending that its motion was miraculous. In what confecrated places or temples these religious rites were celebrated, seems to be the next enquiry: And, it appears, that they were, for the most part, celebrated in the The mysterious silence of an ancient wood, disfuses even a shade of midst of groves. horror over minds that are yet superior to superstitious credulity. The majestic gloom, therefore, of their consecrated oaks, must have imprest the less informed multitude with every fensation of awe that might be necessary to the support of their religion, and the dignity of the priesthood. The religious wood was generally situated on the top of a hill. or a mountain; where the Druids erected their fanes and their altars. The Temple was feldom any other than a rude circle of rock, perpendicularly raifed. An artificial pile of large flat stone, in general, composed the altar: And the whole religious mountain was usually enclosed by a low mound, to prevent the intrusion of the profane. Among the primæval people of the east, altars were inclosed by groves of trees; and these groves consisted of plantations of oak. Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem—unto the cak of Moreh: And the Lord appeared unto Abram; and there he builded an altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him beside the oak of Moreh. (b) That particular places and temples in Danmonium, were appropriated to particular deities, is an unquestionable fact. Borlase tells us, that the old British appellation of the Cassiterides or Scilly Islands, was Sulleh or Sylleh-which fignifies rocks confecrated to the fun. (c) This answers to the temples of Iran, which were dedicated to the sun and the planets: And the facred ceremonies of Iran are represented by sculptures, in the ruined city of Jemschid. (d)

<sup>(</sup>a) Of these Logan-stones, we have several yet remaining in Devonshire, which I shall notice hereaster.

<sup>(</sup>b) In Babylon, the oak was facred to Baal.

<sup>(</sup>c) Of these islands, the British name was Sulleh, signifying flat rocks dedicated to the sun. Thus St. Michael's Mount was originally called Dinsul, or the bill dedicated to the sun. And the vast flat rocks, common in the Scilly Isles, particularly at Peninis, Karn leb, Penleb, Karn-wavel; but, above all, the enormous rock on Salakee Downs, formerly the floor of a great temple, are no improbable arguments that they might have had the same dedication, and so have given name to these islands. Nor is it an unprecedented thing to find an island, in this climate, dedicated to the sun. Diodorus Siculus, B. 3. speaking of a Northern Island, over against the Celtæ, says: "It was dedicated to Apollo, who frequently conversed with the inhabitants: And they had a large grove and temple of a round form, to which the priests resorted, to sing the praises of Apollo." And there can be no doubt but this was one of the British Islands, and the Priests, Druids. See Borlase's Ancient and present State of the Isles of Scilly, p. 59, 60. See, also, his Antiquities of Cornwall, B. 2. C. 17.

present State of the Isles of Scilly, p. 59, 60. See, also, his Antiquities of Cornwall, B. 2. C. 17. (d) Cooke, in his enquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical religion, says: "Not to lay any greater stress than needs, upon the evidence of the affinity of words with the Hebrew and Phenician; the roultitude of altars and pillars, or temples, set up in the ancient patriarchal way of worship throughout England, Ireland, Scotland, and the islands, form a conclusive argument, that an oriental solony must have been very early introduced."

And a number of places in Danmonium still preserve in their names, the lasting memorials of the British deities. In Tresadarn, we have the town or bouse of Saturn—in Nan-sadarn, the Valley of Saturn. And many of the enormous rocks, which rise with peculiar grandeur in those wild places, were undoubtedly appropriated to the fire-worship of the God. We have, also, places in Danmonium, which retain the names of Mars and of Mercury, as Tremer, the town of Mars, and Gun-Mar'r, and Kelli-Mar'r, the Downs and the Grove of Mercury. It was in the Phenician age, the corrupted age of Druidism, that temples were erected to Belisama, or the Queen of beaven, both in the metropolis of the island, (a) and in the chief city of Danmonium (b); that a temple was consecrated to Onca, at Bath(c); and that facred buildings were probably frequented at the Start-point, by the votaries of Astarte, and at the promontory of Hertland, by the worshippers of Hercules.

From all those views of the Druid religion, I have no doubt but it derived its origin immediately from Asia. Dr. Borlase has drawn a long and elaborate parallel between the Druids and Persians; where he has plainly proved, that they resembled each other, as strictly as possible, in every particular of religion. It was the sublime doctrine of the primitive Druids of Danmonium, that the Deity was not to be imaged by any human figure: And the Magi of Persia, before and long after Zoroaster, admitted no statues into their temples. The Druids worshipped, indeed, the whole expanse of heaven; which they represented by their circular temples: And the Persians held, that the whole roundof heaven was their Jupiter. From all their monuments that remain, it appears, that the Druids never admitted of covered temples for the worship of their Gods: And the ancient Persians performed all the offices of their religion in the open air. Both the Druids and the Persians worshipped their God on the tops of the mountains. The Persians worshipped the serpent, as the symbol of their god Mithras, or the sun: And from their veneration for the Anguinum, and other circumstances, we may conclude, that the Druids paid divine honors to the ferpent. The Perfians maintained, that their god Mithras was born of a rock; beside other absurdities of this nature: And the rock-worship of the Druids is sufficiently known. The Druids maintained the transmigration of the soul; and the Persians held the same doctrine. As to the priesthood, and the ceremonials of religion, the Druids, and the Persian Magi, were of the noblest order in the state: The Druids were ranked with the British Kings; and the Magi with the Kings of Persia. The Druid Priest was cloathed in white; the holy vesture, called the Sagus, was white; the facrisicial bull was white; the oracular horfes were white. In like manner the Persian Magus was cloathed in white; the horses of the Magi were white; the King's robes were white; and so were the trappings of his horses. The Druids wore fandals: so also did the Persians. The Druids sacrificed human victims: so did the Persians. Ritual washings and purifications were alike common to the Druids and Persians. The Druids had their festal fires, of which we have still instances in these western parts of the island: and the Persians had also their festal fires, at the winter solftice, and on the 9th of March. The holy fires were alike familiar to the Druids and the Persians. The Druids used the holy fire as an antidote against the plague or the murrain in cattle: and the Persians placed their fick before the holy fire, as of great and healing virtue. In Britain, the people were obliged to rekindle the fires in their own houses, from the holy fires of the Druids. And the same custom actually exists, at this day, in Persia. The day after their feast, which is kept on the 24th of April, the Persians extinguish all their domestic fires, and to rekindle them, go to the houses of their priests, and there light their tapers. To divination, the Druids and Persians were both equally attached; and they had both the fame modes of divining. Pliny tells us, that our Druids fo far exceeded the Persians in magic, that he should conceive the latter to have learnt the art in Britain. The Druids foretold future events, from the neighing of their white oracular horses. Cyrus, King of Persia, had also his white and sacred horses: And, not long after Cyrus, the fuccession to the imperial throne was determined by the neighing of a horse. The Druids regarded their misletoe as a general antidote against all poisons: and they preserved their selago as a charm against all misfortunes. And the Persians had the same considence in

(a) The Temple of Diana, where St. Paul's now stands.

<sup>(</sup>b) At Exeter was found, a few years fince, a lamp, which, evidently, belonged to a temple of Diana.

<sup>(</sup>c) Bath-oma-Badonica.

the efficacy of several herbs, and used them in a similar manner. The Druids cut their Misselve with a golden hook: And the Persians cut the twigs of Ghez or Haulm, called Bursam, with a peculiar fort of consecrated knife. The candidates for the vacant British throne had recourse to the fatal stone, to determine their pretensions: And, on similar occasions, the Persians recurred to their Artizoe. Dr. Borlase has pointed out other resemblances: But I have enumerated only the most striking. It is of consequence to observe, that Dr. Borlase has formed this curious parallel without any view to an hypothesis. Every particular is related with caution and scrupulousness: No forced resemblances are attempted; but plain facts are brought together, sometimes, indeed, reluctantly; though the Doctor seldom struggled against the truth. His mind was too candid and ingenuous for such a resistance. In the mean time, a systematical collector of facts is always animated by his subject. Every circumstance that seems to strengthen his theory, imparts a britkness to his circulation. From the ardor of his spirits, his expressions acquire new energy—his portraits a high colouring. But we cannot congratulate the Doctor on such an enlivening glow: His narrative is tame; his manner is frigid. And, what is truly unfortunate, after he has presented us with all these accumulated facts, he is at a loss in what manner to dispose of them. He sees, indeed—he is startled at the discovery that they make against his own and the common opinion: He perceives, that they might be brought in evidence against himself. A faint glimmering of the fecret history of the world seems to shoot across his mind; but he is lost again in darkness. Such is his distressing situation. Observe how he labours to get clear from the difficulties in which he has involved himself. The Druids, he had maintained, were a sect which had its rise among the Britons. Here, we see, he owned the independency of our Druids on the Druids of the Continent; though his supposition that Druidsim absolutely originated in Britain, is evidently absurd. At this juncture, it is a supposition that involves him in greater perplexity. It evidently cuts off all resources in the Continent of Europe: However puzzled the Doctor may be, he cannot look to the Gauls or the Germans for the folution of the difficulties he has started. He cannot fay, that we received Druidism from the east (as is commonly said) through the medium of Germany and Gaul; and hence account for those various similarities—since he traces the birth of Druidism on this island itself! He has, undoubtedly, simplified the question: and he points our views through a very narrow vista to the east, or rather to Persia alone. He seems, indeed, to have insulated himself, and to have rejected the common succours. To account for these resemblances he might have recurred, had he not fixed the origin of Druidism in Britain, to the continental tribes, whom he might have reprefented as bringing Druidism, pure and uncorrupted, from Asia over Europe, into this remote island. He would, in this case, have followed the beaten track. Dr. Borlase, indeed, seems to be sensible, that this beaten track ought to be abandoned. If he had followed it, he would have wandered far from the truth: In the present case, he is as near the truth as he possibly could have been, without reaching it. But see his poor, his wretched conclusion—after such a noble accumulation of facts—such a weight of circumstantial evidence, as feems irrefistible-See his miserable subterfuge: "It has been hinted before, that the Druids were, probably, obliged to Pythagoras, for the doctrine of the transmigration, and other particulars: And, there is no doubt, but he was learned in all the magian religion: It was with this magian religion that the Druids maintained fo great a uniformity. Tis not improbable, then, that the Druids might have drawn by his hands, out of the Persian sountains." What can be more improbable than this? That a fingle man, who by travelling through a foreign country, had acquired some knowledge of its religion, should have been able, on his return from travel, to persuade a whole priesthood, whose tenets were fixed, to embrace the doctrines and adopt the rites he recommended, is furely a most ridiculous position. Besides, were this admitted, would it account for the strength and exactness of these resemblances? If Pythagoras introduced any of the Druidical fecrets into Britain, it was, I suppose, through his friend Abaris-for it does not appear that this fage ever travelled into Britain, himself. "Abaris, the Doctor flyly hints, was very intimate with Pythagoras-fo intimate, indeed, that he did not scruple to communicate to him, freely, the real sentiments of his heart." And Abaris, it seems, paid a visit to the Danmonians. Here, then, all is light. Pythagoras was fortunate enough in a remote country, to dive into the hidden things of its inhabitants—to expiscate the profoundest of all secrets, the mysteries of religion. These Arcana, it feems, he imparted to Abaris, his bosom friend: And Abaris very civilly Vol. I. VOL. I.

communicated the whole to our Devonshire and Cornish priests. And our Devonshire and Cornish priests, with a versatility that shewed their sense of his politeness, new-modelled their religion, on his plan. Hence the refemblance of the Druids and the Persians in a thousand different points!—Doctor Borlase, however, is by no means satisfied with this argument. But, too timid to divest himself of the opinions which he had long taken upon trust, he makes still another effort to account for a likeness so embarrassing. Whence (fays he) this surprising conformity in their priests, doctrines, worship, and temples, between two such distant nations as the Persians and Britons, proceeded, it is difficult to fay. There never appears to have been the least migration—any accidental or meditated intercourse betwixt them, after the one people was settled in Persia, and the other in Britain." This strict agreement was too obvious to escape the notice of the judicious Peloutier. Dr. Borlate attempts a solution of the difficulty, in the Dr. Borlafe attempts a folution of the difficulty, in the following manner. "The Phenicians were very conversant with the Persians for the fake of eastern trade: And nothing is more likely than that the Phenicians, and after them the Greeks, finding the Druids devoted beyond all others to superstition, should make their court to that powerful order, by bringing them continual notices of oriental fuperstitions, in order to promote and engross the lucrative trade which they carried on in Britain for so many ages. And the same channel that imported the Persian, might also introduce some Jewish and Ægyptian rites. The Phenicians traded with Ægypt, and had Judæa at their own doors: And, from the Phenicians, the Druids might learn some few Ægyptian and Jewish rites, and interweave them among their own." That the Phenician merchants should have taught our Druids, the Persian, Jewish, and Ægyptian religion, is too absurd a supposition to require a formal resutation. Admitting that these merchants were in the habit of retailing religion, and bartering it with the Britons for tin; can we think, that these religious tenets and ceremonies could be imported in fuch excellent prefervation as we find them in this island; or, if so imported, would be, at once, honoured by our Druids, with a distinguished place among their old religious possessions? It is singular that Dr. Borlase, who was so near the truth, should have wandered from it, immediately on the point of approaching it. Dr. Borlase, however, is remarkable for his fairness in stating every question; though the conclusions he draws from his premises are not always the most obvious. Others have attempted to get rid of the question in a more general way. To account for this similarity in the opinions and institutions of our Druids, and all the oriental priests, it is said that they were derived from one common fountain-from Noah himself, who set apart an order of men for the purpose of preserving those doctrines, through successive ages, and in various countries, wherever this order might be dispersed. But the descendants of those who travelled west of Mount Ararat, are not supposed to have reached Britain by travelling overland, till after many generations. Their progress must have been necessarily slow; and discontinuous and variously interrupted. In this case, they must have lost the character of their original country, before they could have settled in Britain. And the spirit of their religion must have evaporated in the same proportion: We should expect, therefore, to find fainter traces of it, the further we pursued it from its fountain-head. We have observed, however, the contrary in this island. If the Druids had been Celtic priests, they would have spread with the several divisions of the Celts. They would have been eminent among the Germans: they would have been conspicuous, though less visible, among the Gauls. But, in Germany, there were no Druids: And Gaul had none, till she imported them from Britain. In short, we need not hesitate to declare, that the Druidism of Britain was Afiatic. The Danmonii, transplanted into the British isles, retained those eastern modes, which seemed little accordant with their new situation. And was not their worship of the sun so unnatural in the dreary climates of the north, their doctrine as to the stars, so little regarded for scientific purposes by the European nations, their sublime tenets concerning the origin of nature and of the heavens—were not all these strongly contrasted with the religion of the continent? Were not all these absolutely unknown to the Europeans; and deemed, as soon as discovered, the objects of curiosity and veneration? Were not all these new to Cæsar? In fact, the British Druids knew more of the true origin of the mythology adopted by the Greeks and Romans, than the Greeks and Romans probably did themselves: And I cannot but observe, that every part of Cæsar's account of their religious tenets, merits a dissertation; for they refer to the first ages of mankind. Does Cæsar, any where, speak thus of the Belgæ—those sugitive Germans, driven by their stronger neighbours over the Rhine into Gaul, and afterwards, perhaps, driven from Gaul to take shelter on the sea-coast of Britain? Does he any where speak thus of one tribe or state on the Continent?—I believe no where. The doctrines of the British Druids were peculiar to themselves in Europe—full of deep knowledge and high antiquity. Mr. Whitaker himself exclaims in a style truly oriental: "There was something in the Druidical species of heathenism, that was peculiarly calculated to arrest the attention and impress the mind. The rudely majestic circle of stones in their temples, the enormous Cromlech, the massy Logan, the huge Carnedde, and the magnificent amphitheatres of woods, would all very strongly lay hold upon that religious thoughtfulness of soul, which has been ever so natural to man, amid all the wrecks of humanity—the monument of his former perfection!" That Druidism then, as originally existing in Devonshire and Cornwall, was immediately transported, in all its purity and perfection, from the east, seems to me extremely probable.

But we have feen that this religion is not entirely confiftent with itself—that though wisdom and benevolence are sometimes exhibited as its commanding features, yet the groflest folly and inhumanity are no less prominent, on other representations of it. The Phenicians, however, introducing their corrupt doctrines, and degenerated rites, will account at once for these incongruities. And we have already observed the intermixture of the Phenician with the Aboriginal doctrines and ceremonies. If a Phenician colony, subsequent to the first peopling of the island, settled here (as I have stated in the fecond fection) about the time of Joshua, there is no doubt but they disseminated in Danmonium a vast variety of superstitious notions. At this juncture, their religion was stained with manifold impurities. (a) But, as I have hinted above, it would be impossible to separate all the superstitions which were countenanced as popular tenets by the Druids before the arrival of the Phenician colony, from the superstitions which this colony introduced. I shall not, therefore, in this place, attempt to discriminate the Phenician from the primitive Danmonian religion. For the Grecian colony, they were furely not inactive in spreading their religious tenets where they settled; though there is more of fancy than of real truth in the accounts which are pretended to have been transmitted through the line of history, respecting their deities or their temples, in this country. The authorities, on which fuch traditions rest, are very doubtful, if not palpably spurious: And yet our chronicles had a certain me snow; though, when they got footing on a simple fact, they so embellished it by poetical sictions, that many are led to suspect the whole to be false, because they are convinced that the greatest part is so. That the Grecian colony built a temple at the Kpis µɛlωπον, or incorporating with the Danmonii, erected a temple at Exeter, I will not prefume to affert. But if the existence of the colony be granted, we need not doubt but they had buildings appropriated to religious orship. The Belgæ, invading our coasts, drove the Britons of Danmonium into the central parts, and thus contributed to spread the Druid religion over the rest of the island. With respect, however, to the religion of the Belgæ, and of the other continental tribes, I shall not attempt to characterize it. Certain it is, that before the time of Cæsar, the Gauls were in possession of Druidism, though in a very imperfect state. Their religion could have ill-refembled the Druidiss of Danmonium, whilst they blindly adopted those corrupt notions and impure ceremonies which prevailed in the greater part of Europe. But, amidst these tokens of degeneracy, they still displayed some proof both of wisdom and of dissidence, whilst, conscious of their religious inferiority, and not assumed to avow it, they frequently recurred, for instruction, to the Aborigines of Britain!

<sup>(</sup>a) In conformity to this idea, we find, that the Persian religion was first Magian entirely: Then came in Sabianism, with all the additions of image-worship: Then came Zoroaster, and his reformation of magianism. The Phenicians anciently worshipped only the sun and moon, under the names of Baal or Belus, and Astarte—prorepente autem Idolatria, Hercules Phænix alique Desrum numerum auxerunt. (1)

<sup>(1)</sup> Wife, Bodle, Med. p. 218.

## SECTION IV.

VIEW of the CIVIL, MILITARY, and RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE of DANMONIUM.

I. The Danmonian Houses—their Form and Materials—their Situation—The Danmonian Caverns-The Danmonian Town, confisting of a Mansion-House, and a number of inferior Houses—a Beacon overlooking it—a Road from one Town to another—Vestiges of the British Houses on Dartmoor—British Caverns in Devonshire and Cornwall—Line of Beacons on each Side of the Jugum Ocrinum-and on the Jugum Ocrinum itself .- II. Architecture of the Britons more respectable than it is usually considered—City of Exeter—Plan of a British City on a Gold Coin of the Britons, probably Exeter—Exmouth—Okehampton—Drewsleington
—Totnes—Armenton—Plymton—Tamara—Voluba—Uxella—Cenia—Termolus—Artavia
—Musidum—Halangium—Redruth—Military Structures—Karnbre-Castle—Castles with Keeps - Rougemont-Caftle - Okehampton-Caftle - Totnes-Caftle - Plymton-Caftle - Trematon-Castle-Restormel-Castle-Launceston-Castle-British Roads in Danmonium-III. Religious Architecture—the Rock Idol—the Logan-Stone—the Rock-Bason—the single Stone-Pillar—two, three, or more Stone-Pillars—Circular Stone-Pillars—the Cromlech—Assemblage of Druidical Monuments at Drewsteignton-the Stonehenge of the Druids, or the complete Druid Temple.—IV. Phenician, Grecian, and Belgic Temples—the Barrow— Conclusion.

HIS period might be rendered, perhaps, peculiarly interesting, from an extensive furvey of the British Architecture: But the nature of the work obliges me to contract my views within a very narrow circle. For the present subject, I propose, first, to confider the houses and towns of the Danmonians, curforily inspecting both their civil

and military buildings; and fecondly, to notice their religious structures.

With respect to the architecture of the Danmonians, nothing can be advanced with certainty. The Greek and Roman writers observed the arts and manners of the ancient Britons so superficially, or received such vague and false accounts of the British islanders from others, that I cannot recur to those authors with any degree of confidence. Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the Britons dwelt in houses constructed with wood, and covered with straw. And, in regard to their form, Dio calls the British houses ounvai; and Zomaras (a) makes Caractacus call them σκηνιδια. Mr. Whitaker describes the houses of the Britons as great round cabins, built principally of timber, on foundations of stone, and roofed with a sloping covering of skins or reeds. But the British houses were sometimes constructed in a different form—not rounded, but nearly squared, and containing about fixteen yards by twelve within. Such, at least, as Mr. Whitaker informs us, was the ground-work of a building which was discovered within Castlesield, in 1766, and laid in a manner that bespoke it to be British. About half a yard below the surface of the ground, was a line of large irregular blocks; and under it were three layers of common paving stones, not compacted together with mortar, but with the rude and primitive cement of clay. (b) Thus the houses in the western isles of Scotland, to this day, are built of stone and cemented with earth. And the same fort of foundation has been discovered about those huge obelisks of the Britons, near Aldborough in Yorkshire, which are so similar to the stones erected frequently without their circular temples. As to their materials, the British dwellings must have somewhat varied, according to their situations. In the neighbourhood of Dartmoor, for instance, their walls, probably, consisted of granite; and near the Denyball quarry, they were roofed, perhaps, if not entirely built with flate. (c). Such is the case at the present day. Though cob-walls are generally preserved in Devon and Cornwall, yet in the vicinity of the Denyball-quarry, and along the north coast of Cornwall, the cottages of the meanest peasants are chiefly constructed with slate. The Danmonians dwelt, also, in caverns. In the mean time, we are not to imagine, that the Danmonians could boast no structures superior to the habitations I have described. The houses I have noticed were those only of the people in general: And, there

(a) Bafil. 1557. p. 185.

<sup>(</sup>b) Mr. Whitaker thinks, that this square bouse, at Manchester, was rather for the cattle of the Britons; fince "the British houses were roomy buildings, of a round form, and covered with a convex roof."

<sup>(</sup>c) In British, Sglatta.

was, doubtlels, a great distinction between the dwellings of the chiefs and the villains. The Lord's mansion was, as our superior houses remained in the last century, all constructed of wood, on a foundation of stone; was one ground story; and composed a large oblong and fquarish court. A considerable part of it was taken up by the apartments of such as were retained more immediately in the service of the seignior. And the rest, which was more particularly his own habitation, confifted of one great and feveral little rooms: In the great room was his armoury; the weapons of his fathers, the gifts of friends, and spoils of enemies, being disposed in order along the walls. Such is the dwelling of the chieftain in the Scottish isles. And as the first class of the nobility, the Druids were surely provided with more commodious habitations than are generally assigned them. It is commonly imagined that the houses of the Druids were mere excavations in the rocks, or little stone cabins, such as are to be seen, at this moment, in the Scottish isles, and which tradition has consecrated to the Druids. The structures to which I allude, are called Tig-the-nan-Druidh. They consist of a few large unwrought stones, piled up in the simplest manner, without lime or mortar; and they are capable only of holding a single perfon. I speak not of accommodation—even the peasants on the skirts of Dartmoor, would disdain these Druid houses. In short, whilst I assent to the opinion, that the little buildings in question were Druidical, supposing them to be Sacella, to which the common people resorted for various religious purposes, I conceive that the family-seats of the Druids were edifices as large and as convenient as any in the British period. Yet, the common people refided in meaner houses or in caves. And the dwellings of the vulgar, numerous in comparison to those of the chiefs, met the eye in every direction: Hence the descriptions of British houses in ancient writers are, for the most part, taken-from these rude habita-For the situation of the Danmonian houses, we have to remark, that the seat of the Chieftain was fometimes fixed on the fummit of a hill, but more commonly in the hollow of a valley, either on the margin of one stream, or at the confluence of two. This latter mode of building, for security from winds and conveniency of water, continued almost to the present day. The fashion of this moment has a particular regard to prospect, erecting houses on eminences that overlook the surrounding plantations, and command all the neighbouring country. In the vicinity of the Chieftain's feat, were built the different cottages of his tenants, either on the flope of the hill, or along the margin of a river that purfued the course of the winding combe. From this collection of houses, all subordinate to the great house, originated the British town: and the inferior houses were so placed as reciprocally to guard each other, whilst they stood under the immediate command of the chief mansion: So that, on a military view, the clanship was a fortified town, with a castle to defend it. And, indeed, the first towns of the Britons have generally been described as mere fortresses or strong holds. They were not scenes, we are told(a), of regular and general residence. They were only places of refuge amidst the dangers of war, where the Britons might occasionally lodge their wives, children, and cattle; and the weaker result the stronger till succours could arrive. This was more particularly the case with the caves of the Danmonii, which are certainly to be regarded in a military light. Of such caverns we have many instances in Danmonium, partly, perhaps, natural, and partly artificial. That these caverns were places of temporary residence in the time of war, whither the Danmonii retired, for the security of their persons, their domestic furniture, and their warlike stores, I should judge not only from the disposition of the Aborigines so congenial with the oriental turn of mind, but from the resemblance, also, of our Danmonian excavations to those in Scotland and Ireland, which are allowed to be military retreats. But, whatever was their use, they were very similar to the caves of the eastern nations, and especially of Armenia. Before, however, we enter into particulars, it may be necessary to complete our sketch of the British fortified town. The fortress in which the chief resided, was the principal military work in every clanship: It was a fastness strengthened by considerable outworks. Yet, from its scite on the side of a hill (and fometimes in a valley) it was by no means equal to the command of the neighbouring country, and consequently subject to surprize from an enemy, if it stood independent and unconnected with any other work. We may naturally place, therefore, some work on the brow of the hill; such as a watch-tower or beacon, whence the approach of an enemy might be observed, and an alarm might be given to the clanship. Such a structure might also be useful in communicating with another of a like nature, which be-

longed to a fecond clan, and in thus fpreading fuch intelligence from town to town; fo that all the cantreds, and in short the whole kingdom of Danmonium, might be almost inftantaneously apprized of a hostile attack. A beacon then, it should feem, belonged to every clanship or town in Danmonium; sometimes placed on the natural hill, and sometimes on an artificial mount of earth or stone, where the brow of the hill was not sufficiently commanding. Not only the high antiquity of beacons, in various countries, but the frequent veftiges of ruinous beacons in Danmonium, in fituations exactly adapted to the purpoles I have mentioned, may affure us of this fact. But artificial mounts were at first, perhaps, thrown up by the Aborigines with a different view: They were, probably, raised as marks of the progress of colonization. An ingenious correspondent (a) has observed, "that the great marks of an Asiatic crossing the Euxine sea, are to be traced out in our modern maps, through Moldavia and Germany, into Britain, by the landwears or divisions, such as that at Lexden-heath, in Essex; and that another vestige is in the mounts, or tumuli, such as Silbury in Wiltshire, and the Grange Barrow in Ireland." Thus the Asiatic emigrants into this island, probably, erected mounts in the vicinity of every new habitation, as they proceeded in colonizing Danmonium. But these mounts, becoming useless as colonial landmarks, must have been soon estranged from their original destination, and adopted for military purposes, originally, I conceive, for fire-beacons. In the mean time, to finish the whole, a road from one town to another, was absolutely requisite. It would be vain to diffuse alarms over Danmonium, by the beacon-fires, if there were no roads from fortress to fortress—if the whole of the intervening spaces were still overhung with thick-branching trees, and overgrown with briars or coppice. In this case, every town would have been in a manner insulated; and, though with difficulty approached by an enemy, yet, when invaded, must have long trusted to itself, before any succours could arrive. A road, therefore, was soon struck out from one town to another, for the convenient intercourse of the different clans. If we imagine, then, a strong mansion-house built on the side of a hill, and a cluster of inferior habitations rising on the bank of a river, immediately under the eye of the fortress, and a road winding through the valley, and sloping away till it gains the higher grounds, and a beacon on the natural or artificial eminence overlooking the whole, and commanding the circumjacent country, we may conceive a tolerable idea of a British town as represented in its primæval rudeness. Thus have I exhibited a rough draught of an infant British town, both in a civil and military light, according to the vulgar idea of the towns of the Britons. That there are, at this day, relics of fuch habitations and military works as I have delineated, on the hills or amidst the combes and cliffs of Danmonium, would appear without much labor of inveftigation. Of the round houses of the Britons which I first noticed, Dartmoor, perhaps, might furnish us with some remains. There are a great number of round structures scattered over this extensive moor. They are built with stone, and, in general, resemble the British house in their dimensions, as well as the rotundity of their form. But, unfortunately, they are all roofless: The bare walls only remain; and these walls are, for the most part, in a very ruinous condition. Towards Whiston's wood, these houses seem to be in a less dilapidated state. And here, as in several other places on the moor, they lie contiguous to each other; fo as to fuggeft the idea of a village or town. The common notion is, that they were erected to fecure the flocks and herds of the Danmonians, against wolves and other wild beasts which infested the country. But a great part of Dartmoor, was probably peopled in ancient times: And tradition concurs with probability, in settling this opinion. All the inhabitants of the skirts of the forest, relate, as a certain fact, which their fathers had told them, that "the hill-country was(b) peopled, whilft the vallies were full of ferpents and ravenous beafts." The forest, undoubtedly, abounded with trees: And, as the Britons invariably preferred the woods to the plains, there is no doubt but they erected many fortresses on the sylvan heights of Dartmoor. Indeed, the round walls I have just noticed, admitting that they were mere pens for flocks, would tend to prove the inhabitation of Dartmoor; fince the Britons, like the Arabs, had always apartments for their cattle near their own. In Whiston's wood, then, and in the ruinous cabins around it, we may contemplate the

(a) Colonel Simcoe, now Governor of Quebec.

<sup>(</sup>b) Peopled "by christians" (an old man informed me) meaning human beings. "The bottoms for the low-grounds) he said, were all slime:" And he had a strange notion of winged serpents.

fading features of a Danmonian clanship. (a) But, as the Danmonians sometimes resided in caves, let us look, also, to their rock recesses, in Devon and Cornwall. The cave in the rock near Chudleigh, has been already described as a natural hollow. Yet it seems to be as well formed for the purpose of concealment in time of war, as several of the Danmonian excavations, which are evidently artificial. Kent's Hole, which has also been described, would furnish a safe asylum in time of war. About two miles to the S. W. of Berryhead, there is a remarkable hole in the rock under Darle point: And the remains of a mound, or old wall, are to be seen on that promontory, about a mile S. E. of Brixham. Just within the Bolt-head, at the west end of Salcombe-bar, is a subterraneous passage, called Bull-hole, which, the common people have an idea, runs quite under the earth to another such place in a creek of the sea, called Sewer-mill, at three miles distance. The tradition is, that a bull should enter it at one end, and come out at the other. How far these two caverns are really the same, has never been determined; none of those who have entered them having had the resolution to proceed fufficiently far to ascertain the fact. On the east side of the parish of South Huish, is an entrenchment on the declivity of a hill, but very near the fummit, facing the north. About twenty yards in the rear of this entrenchment (which will be described in its proper place) a walled cave was discovered a few years since: The farmer who made this discovery, dug up the foundation of it. It was about twenty feet long, seven or eight feet broad, and ten or twelve feet deep: but nothing was found in the cavern. On the west fide of the village of Lower Torr, and near the river Yalm, is a cavern in a marble rock. The entrance is by a long narrow cleft; but, as we advance, it becomes more spacious, and goes near two hundred feet under the rock. The country-people have a tradition, also, relating to this cavern. And they believe, as they were taught by their fathers, that from this cavern a way passed under the river to the church of Yalmton, which stands about two or three hundred yards distant, on high ground, to the north. The cavern discovered about twenty years ago, on the west side of the Haw, at Plymouth, and looking into Mill-Bay, was partly, perhaps, an artificial work of the ancient Britons. As I have but flightly mentioned it in my sketch of the natural history, I shall here give a particular description of this subterraneous abode. This cave was accidentally laid open by fome miners, in blowing up a contiguous rock of marble. The aperture disclosed by the explosion, was about four feet in diameter, and looked not unlike a hole bored with an auger. It was covered with a broad flat stone, cemented with lime and fand; and, twelve feet above it, the ground seemed to have been made with rubbish brought thither, perhaps for the purpose of concealment. Here was, doubtless, some appearance of art, and vestige of masonry. The hill itself, at the northern fide of which this vault was found, confifts, for the most part, of marble. From the mouth of this cave (through which we descend by a ladder) to the first base, or landingplace, are twenty-fix feet. At this base is an opening, bearing N. W. by W. which resembles a tent, stretching upwards somewhat pyramidically, to an invisible point. Hence it was called Tent-Cave. It is about ten feet high, seven broad, and twentytwo long; though there is an opening which, on account of its narrowness, could not well be examined, and which, probably, hath a dangerous flexure. In each fide of this Tent-Cave is a cleft: the right runs horizontally inwards ten feet; the left meafures fix by four. The fides of the cave are, every where, deeply and uncouthly indented, and here and there firengthened with ribs naturally formed, which, placed at a due diftance from each other, give fome idea of fluted pillars as in old churches. In a direct line from this cave, to the opposite point, is a road thirty feet long. The descent is deep and rugged—the road is strongly but rudely arched over; and many holes on both fides are to be feen, but being very narrow do not admit of minute examination. Having scrambled down this deep descent, we arrive at a natural arch of gothic-like structure, which is four feet from side to side, and six feet high. Here some petrifactions are feen depending. On the right of this arch, is an opening like a funnel, into which a flender person might creep: On the left is another correspondent funnel, the course of which is oblique, and the end unknown. Beyond this gothic pile, is a large space, to which the arch is an entrance. This space, or inner-room, is eleven feet long, ten broad,

<sup>(</sup>a) Not but a part of Dartmoor might have been waste, where the lords of the neighbouring clans had a right of common, and where flocks and herds were pastured, at particular seasons, under the care of shepherds and herdsmen.

twenty-five high: Its fides have many large excavations: And here two columns, which feem to be a mass of petrifaction, project considerably. On the surfaces of those pillars below, are seen some fantastic protuberances, and on the hanging roofs above, some chrystal drops that have been petrified in their progress. Between the columns, is a chasin capable of containing three or four men. Returning from this room, we perceive, on the left hand, an avenue thirty feet long, naturally floored with clay, and vaulted with stone. It bears S. S. W. and, before we have crept through it, we see a passage of very difficult access. It runs forward twenty-five feet, and opens over the vault thirty feet high, near a very large well. Opposite to this passage are two caverns, both on the right hand. The first bears N. W. by W. and running forward in a straight line, about twenty feet, forms a cave that verges somewhat to the N. E. Here we walk and creep in a winding course, from cell to cell, till we are stopped by a well of water, the breadth and depth of which are not fully known. This winding cavern is three feet wide, in fome parts, five feet high, in some, eight. On our return to the avenue, we find adjoining to this cayern, but separated by a massy partition of stone, the second cavern, in a western direction: And, by descending some small piles of lime-stone, or rather broken rocks, the bottom here being shelving slate (or, more properly, a combination of slate and lime-stone) we discover another well of water. This is the largest. The depth of it is, in one place, twenty-three feet, the width uncertain. Opposite to this well, on the left hand, by mounting over a small ridge of rocks, covered with wet and slippery clay, we enter a vault eight feet broad, eighteen long, thirty high. Here, towards the S. E. a road, not easy of ascent, runs upwards of seventy-two feet towards the surface of the earth, and so near to it, that the sound of the voice, or of a mallet within, might be distinctly heard without—in consequence of which a very large opening has been made into it. At the bottom of this vault, in a place not readily observed, is another well of water; the depth of which, on account of its fituation, cannot be eafily fathomed, nor the breadth of it ascertained. Each cavern has its arch; and each arch is strong. to the largest well is, in one part, roofed with solid and smooth stone, not unlike the arch of an oven. It is very likely that the hill itself is hollow-Some of the caverns have reciprocal communications; but the clefts are often too narrow for accurate inspection. The water, here and there, is still dripping; and incrustations, usual in such grottos, in some places coat the surface of the walls. There are some whimsical likenesses, which it would be difficult to delineate.—In the parish of Shepstor, rises that steep high hill, still of moorstone (with which the whole country abounds, lying on the edge of Dartmoor) called Shepstor-Torr. Among the rocks, towards the top, is a small cleft, opening within to a wider room. From this place, the inhabitants of the cavern might command the whole country. The country-people have many superstitious notions of this hole. "In the tenement of Bolleit, in the parish of St. Berian, at the end of a little inclosure, is a cave, called the Fogou: Its entrance is about four feet, high and wide. The cave goes straight forward, nearly of the same width as the entrance, seven feet high, and thirty-six from end to end. About five feet from the entrance, there is on the left hand, a hole two feet wide, and one foot fix inches high, within which there is a cave four feet wide, and four feet fix inches high. It goes nearly east about thirteen feet, then to the fouth five feet more; the fides and end faced with stone, and the roof covered with large flat stones. At the end fronting the entrance, is another square hole, within which there was also a further vault, now stopt up with stones, through which we perceive the light. And here, must have been a passage for light and air, if not a back way of conveying things into and out of these cells. This cave is about a furlong distant from the village of Bolleit: And, indeed, the ground is so level above and each side of it, that no one would fuspect there was a cave below, but for the entrance. There is a cave of the same name, in the parish of St. Eval, near Padstow. In the tenement of Bodinar, in the parish of Sancred, somewhat higher than the present village, is a spot of ground, amounting to no more than half an acre of land (formerly much larger) full of irregular heaps of stones, overgrown with heath and brambles. It is of no regular shape; neither has it any vestiges of fortification. In the fouthern part of this plot, we may, with fome difficulty, enter into a hole, faced on each fide with a stone wall, and covered with flat stones. Great part of the walls, as well as covering, are fallen into the cave, which does not run in a ftraight line, but turns to the left hand, at a small distance from the place where I entered (fays Borlafe) and feems to have branched itself out much farther than I could then trace it, which did not exceed twenty feet. It is about five feet high, and as much in width,

called the Giant's Holt, and has no other use, at present, than to frighten and appeale froward children. As the hedges round are very thick, and near one another, and the inclosures extremely small, I imagine these ruins were, formerly, of much greater extent, and have been removed into the hedges; the stones of which appearing sizeable, and as if they had been used in masonry, seem to confirm the conjecture. Possibly, here might be a large British town (as I have been informed Mr. Tonkin thought) and this cave might be a private way, to enter or fally out of it: But the walls are every where crushed down, and nothing regular is to be feen. I will only add, that this cave or under-ground passage, was so well concealed, that though I had visited it in the year 1738, yet, when I came again to see it, in 1752, I was a long while before I could find it. Of all the artificial caves I have seen in Cornwall, Pendeen Vau (by the Welsh pronounced Fau) is the most entire and curious. It consists of three caves or galleries: The entrance is four feet fix inches wide, and as many high, walled on each fide with large stones, with a rude arch on the top. From the entrance we descend six steps, and advance to the N. N. E. the floor dipping all the way. This first cave is twenty-eight feet long. The sides and roof of the second cave, are formed in the same manner as those of the first—the sides, the same distance, but the roof only five feet six inches high. Through a square hole, two feet wide, and two feet fix inches high, we creep into a third cave, fix feet wide and fix feet high-neither fides nor roof faced with stone, but the whole dug out of the natural ground; the fides formed regularly and straight, and the arch of the roof a semicircle. We see nothing of this cave, either in the field or garden, till we come to the mouth of it; as much privacy as possible being consulted."(a) In the isles of Scotland, and in Ireland (to which I refort, as originally peopled like Danmonium, by Afiatic colonies) there are a great number of artificial caverns. In the isle of Skie, are several little stone houses, built under-ground, called earth-houses, "which serve to hide a few people, and their goods, in the time of war." (b) In the isle of Ila, there is a large cave, called Vag-Vearnag, or Man's-Cave, which will hold two hundred men. And there are many fuch caves in Ireland; not only under mounts, forts, and castles, but under plain fields; some winding into little hills and rifings, like a volute, or ram's horn; others running zig-zag; others again right forward, connecting cell with cell. That the Afiatics, from whose country the Danmonians are supposed to have emigrated, " made them the dens which are in the mountains, and caves, and strong holds,"(c) is evident, both from facred and profane history. There is a remarkable passage in Xenophon, (d) describing the caves of the Armenians. Xenophon informs us, "that the houses of the Armenians were under-ground—that the mouth or entrance to these subterraneous habitations was like that of a well, but that underneath, they were wide and spreading—that there were ways for the cattle to enter, but that the men went down by stairs." In Armenia, at this day, the people dwell in caverns. " In a narrow valley (fays Leonhaut Rauwolf) lying at the bottom of an ascent, we found a great stable, wherein we went. This was quite cut into the hill: And so was that wherein we lodged the night before. So that you could fee nothing of it, but only the entrance. For they are commonly so in these hilly countries, under-ground, that the caravans may fafely rest there, and defend themselves from the cold in the winter. This stable, twenty-five paces long, and twenty broad, was cut out of a rock." These descriptions of the Armenian caves agree, in several points, with that of the cave near Plymouth, as well as the Cornish caverns. Xenophon's cave is subterraneous: So is that near Plymouth: The apertures of both are narrow: And both caverns are, afterwards, fufficiently capacious. From fuch refemblances, however, I would by no means draw any conclusion. Nor, when I observe that the caves in Devon (so like the under-ground habitations of Armenia) are mostly in the Southams, at no great distance from the river Arme, or the town of Armenton, on the banks of the Arme, where the emigrators from Armenia are supposed to have first settled, would I be understood to rest my theory of the Asiatic colonization on this circumstance; though, I confess, it strikes me as singularly curious.—Of the Beacons in Danmonium, we have numerous ruins: And there are a few entire, both to the fouth and the north of the Jugum Ocrinum. In some of these beacons (particularly in the north

<sup>(</sup>a) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 273, 274. (b) Martin of the Isles, p. 154.

Judges, vi. 2.

of Devon) there are large excavations, not unlike the caverns I have just noticed. On the fouth fide of the Jugum Ocrinum, there was, probably, a line of beacons that ran from the eastern limits of Danmonium (the country of the Durotriges or Morini) along to the Ocrinum Promontorium, its western extremity. Membury-beacon, near the eastern limits, would look far into Devonshire: And a beacon would not be useless at Axbridge; the bearings from which (to notice present objects) are Colyton-church, one mile N. N. W. Shute-hill, three miles N. Musbury-camp, two miles E. N. E. Axmouth-church, one mile S. Hogsdown-hill, one mile S. by E. The bearings from Hogsdown-hill, over Axmouth, are—Colyford, one mile due N. Colyton, a point to the W. Axminster, fix miles, N. E. From the hill, two miles S. E. of Colyton, where, possibly, was a beacon—Axmouth-head, three miles S. S. E. Axmouth-town, two miles S. E. Combe-Pyne, four miles E. by S. Musbury-church, three miles due E. Axminster-church, six miles between N. E. by N. and E. N. N. Shute-hill, four miles N. E. Membury-beacon, between N.E. by N. and N.E. two little hills by Beer, two miles S. The bearings from Shute-hill by the beacon, are Axminster, three miles E. Membury-church, four miles N.E. by N. Musbury-church, two miles S. by E. Old Shute-house, half-a-mile W. by N. Watton-Pen, three miles W.S.W. Widworthy, two miles N.W. by W. On Sidmouth-hill, in the road to Salcombe, a beacon might have been erected in former times. The bearings from this eminence are, Sidbury-castle N. Bulverton-hill, N.W. by N. Harpford-beacon, N. N. W. North end of Sidmouth-hill N. W. Sidmouthchurch and Peak-hill W. by S. the greatest headland between W.S.W. and S.W. by S. Harpford-beacon N.N.W. might correspond with the beacon on Sidmouth-hill. On Beacon-hill, a part of Blackdown, stands a beacon perfectly round. Hembury ford commands a large tract of country. The bearings from Hembury are Broad-hembury church, one mile and half, N. by W. Samford-Peverell church, fixteen miles N. N.W. Willand-church, fix miles between N.W. by N. and N.N.W. Halberton-church, nine miles, between N.W. and N.W. by N. Columbton, fix miles and three-quarters N.W. Bradninch, feven miles W.N.W. Cadbury-caftle and Silverton, twelve miles W. by N. Rewe, a little to the left. Plymtree, three miles between W. and W. by N. Thorverton, twelve miles W. Clist-hydon, four miles W. Broad-clist, ten miles W. by S. Pehembury, two miles W. by S. Talaton, three miles W. S. W. Streetwayhead S.W. Ottery, fix miles S.W. by S. Otterton-Pool, the fame. Bokerel, one mile S. S. E. Gittisham, half-a-point more to the S. Aulescombe, a mile and half S. E. Honiton, three miles, half-a-point more to the E. Heytorr-rocks, thirty-five miles W.S.W. The Obelisk at Mamhead, between S.W. and S.W. by W. There was formerly a beacon on Warborough-hill, in the parish of Kenton, where a fire being kindled, would instantly communicate with Woodbury-hill, on the other side of the river Exe. On Haldon-hill, there were, doubtless, several beacons in the British Period. The following are the bearings from the point of the Roman road, on Haldon, overlooking Exeter. Exeter, six miles, twenty degrees to the E. of N. Whitston-church, due N. Alphington-church, ten degrees E. of N. Ken-ford, a little to the east of Exeter. Kenchurch, N. E. Exminster, fifty odd degrees from N. Topsham, fixty degrees. Powderham, E. Beyond it, Peakhill in the same line. Sidmouth-gap, eighty degrees from N. And Woodbury-castle in a line with it. Exmouth-point, and ope of the river, twenty degrees S. of E. On a hill on Radway estate, in Bishop's-teignton, are the remains of a beacon. A lane, called Beacon-lane, leads W. from Hennock-village, to an eminence that bears the name of Halfewood-hill. Here stood a beacon, the traces of which were visible a short time since. In the Southams, also, beacons may be traced; the link between those already noticed, and the beacons on the southern coasts of Cornwall. The bearings taken from Fire-beacon-hill, on Bozumseale, in the parish of Ditsham, are as follows: The fummit of the hill by Ivy-bridge W.N.W. Brent-hill, N.W. by W. Ash-prington-church, four miles N.W. Holn-church, N.W. by N. Broadhempston-church, eight miles N. N. W. Totnes, a little more to the north, fix miles. Dartington, a little more to the north of Totnes. Heytorr-rock N. Torr and Mary-church, eight miles, N.E. Ditsham-church, one mile N.N.E. East-point of Torbay N.E. by N. Opening of the harbour of Dartmouth S.S.E. Tunstal-church, two miles S. On the skirts of Dartmoor, in the parish of Ugborough, are four vast heaps of stones, oval and concavated. One of these is called *Sharpitorre*, from the shape, I suppose, of the eminence on which it is placed. The largest and two least lie on the opposite side of a vale, and are by the moor-men called Dree-berries, doubtless a corruption of three barrows. On enter-

ing from the waste into the inclosed lands of Ugborough, we pass to the south, between Ubber East, and West beacons, two steep and lofty hills, or rather rocks, seen far and wide, and each commanding prospects surprizingly extensive. From the one may be surveyed a considerable part of East Devon, with the western coast of Dorset. The other (twelve miles distant) looks down on Plymouth-sound, and over the S. W. of Devon, deep into the S. E. of Cornwall: And, from both, we have numberless and grand views of the British channel. Thus was the chain of beacons extended to the most westerly extremity of the island. In the same manner, on the north side of the Jugum Ocrinum, there were, probably, communications through the whole country of the Cimbri and the Carnabii, from the river Uxella to the Antivestæum promontorium. In the parish of Stoodley, there is a noble eminence, which the Danmonians must soon have occupied. From the centre, where Stoodley-beacon was fixed, the ground rifes gradually, till it comes to the inner bank; between which and the outer bank, there is a fall or ditch. This work is nearly circular, and contains about half an acre, including the entrenchments. It is on the summit of a high hill, and affords a very extensive prospect, especially towards the N. and N. W. fo that the Severn sea may thence be plainly seen. It also commands Dartmoor, to the W. and S. W. But the prospect to the E. and S. E. is not fo extensive; nor the hill so steep, on the E. and S. as on the N. and W. It is situated to the N. W. of Stoodley-town. About a furlong N. of North-Molton, is a large hill, called Beacon-hill, from the beacon or light-house, which was standing not long fince. On the E. adjacent to this, is an open tract of ground, called Old-Park, which was a deer-park. The wall that inclosed it, is still standing in some places; in others it is to be traced. In this plot of ground, on the summit of an high hill (above the level of the town) was a fortification. Part of the rampart and ditch are still visible and through this park runs the Mole, in a line almost N. and S. Bratton-down, the turf of which is as smooth as a bowling-green, and nearly as level, commands an exten-five view of the country round; in which circular survey lies Youlston on the N.W. and nearer at hand, Arlington; the tower of Bratton; Hertland-Point; and towards the east, Exmoor. On all the circumjacent eminences, beacons are discoverable; in some places several together. And these beacons are in the form of barrows, except that they are not conical: indeed, they have the cone, as it were, inverted, and are hollowed out in the middle. Some of them are of confiderable magnitude, being, in diameter, no less than fixty feet. With respect to the use of these hollows, there may be some reason in the conjecture, that, as intelligence was conveyed from beacon to beacon, during the darkness of the night, by means of fires, such excavations may have been formed to prevent the extinction of those fires through the violence of the winds-fince, in the hollow, the fuel would be undisturbed, and the flame would ascend above the summit of the bea-con, sufficient to answer the purpose. On Berry-down, are several tumuli, and a beacon. And at High-Bickington were ancient beacons—whence, indeed, its name: And this is one of the highest spots in the whole county of Devon. The mount of Torrington-castle was, probably, a British beacon. And a beacon on the hills above Stratton, would communicate with all the heights along the northern coast of Cornwall. To connect the southern and the northern hills of Devon and Cornwall, there would be a line of beacons, also, along the Jugum Ocrinum. Caruson, one of the principal heights of Dartmoor, seems to have been formerly a beacon. That it was used as such, indeed, is confirmed by the tradition of the country. But it would be tedious to enumerate the beacons on the Dartmoor hills. It is already sufficiently clear, that the intelligence of any invasion of Danmonium from the east, or on the south or north coasts, might be communicated through Devonshire and Cornwall, by a rapid succession of beacon-fires. And we find beacons familiarly in use among the primitive Britons, and the Highlanders. The be-fieged capital of one of our northern isles, in the third century, actually lighted up a fire upon a tower; and Fingal instantly knew "the green flame edged with smoke," to be a token of attack and distress. And there are, to this day, several karnes or heaps of stones, upon the heights, along the coast of the Harries, on which the inhabitants used to burn heath, as a fignal of an approaching enemy.(a)

<sup>(</sup>a) Offian, vol. 1, p. 198, and Martin's Western Islands, p. 35, edit. 2. Signals, by means of lighted torches, called  $\varphi_{\rho\nu\kappa}|_{O_1}$ , or by smooth on the approach of friends or enemies, were in use among the Greeks: But their use is more particularly described in the Agamennon of Æschylus; where, by means of these beacons, communicating from Mount Ida, to the Promontory in Lemnos, thence to Mount Athos, and so on, Clytenestra receives immediate notice of the taking of Troy.

Here, according to the common ideas of the towns of the Britons, at the invasion of Cæsar, we should close our views of the civil and military structures of Danmonium. Yet there are some, who maintaining a higher opinion of the ancient Britons, would represent them in possession of towns and cities, laid out with architectural skill on a far

more extensive scale. And this opinion merits our consideration.

The idea of the British forrtess in the woods is, undoubtedly, just: But, amidst the numerous clanships, there were, probably, a few superior towns. And, from the skill of the Britons, in various arts, we may presume that they were not unacquainted with architecture. That the Britons were excellent sculptors, several figures in their coins and their war-chariots unquestionably prove. Can we hesitate, then, in allowing them some credit, as architects? Architecture is surely more obvious than sculpture. In the progress of the arts, a convenient house must be anterior to an elegant engraving: In many countries, the former is frequent, where the latter is unknown. And, indeed, the useful arts invariably precede the ornamental. The British chariot was, doubtless, of Asiatic invention: It was introduced into this island by its first colonists, the Danmonians. Here, therefore, we should naturally look for architecture of a higher description; though we leave the Gaulish colonies in quiet possession of their villages embosomed in the woods. As our first colony is supposed to have come from the east, not long after the dispersion, the facred volume may, perhaps, fuggest to us some hints of the British architecture. Those who journeyed from the east, "found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there. And they faid, one to another, go to-let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And they faid, go to—let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven." We may naturally suppose, then, that the art of making (a) bricks, so well known to the builders of Babel, was carried away at the dispersion by the first colonists of Danmonium. And Devonshire would readily supply them with brick-clay. But, whatever were the materials of their edifices, it is certain that the dispersed Asiatics had conceived the most magnificent ideas of architecture. They had planned a city, and a tower that might reach the heavens. And the eastern nations have always displayed a greatness of style in their buildings. It is very improbable, therefore, that the first inhabitants of Danmonium, abandoning all their notions of former grandeur, should have been satisfied with a little fortress in the woods. That they displayed, indeed, this taste in their religious structures, will soon appear: The monuments of Druidism, though rude, are yet magnificent. With these impressions, let us visit a few British towns in the several cantreds. First, for the city of Exeter, in the cantred of Isca. What time the city of Exeter was built, or who was its founder, it is impossible to determine; fince probability is all we have to expect in these obscure discussions. Izacke, therefore, very ignorantly fays, that "Exeter, he finds, was built before London, even at Brute's first landing here, by his nephew Corinæus, on whom Brute bestowed this western county, A. M. 2855the fame being before Christ's incarnation one thousand one hundred years and upwards and presently, thereafter, Brute built London, calling it Troynovant." There was, assuredly, a British town, of very high antiquity, on the banks of the Exe; if not exactly on the scite of the present Exeter, yet at no great distance from it. In attempting to fix the scite of the British Exeter, there are many difficulties. Some name, or some record, or both, should ascertain the point; and tradition should, also, come in: But we have neither records nor tradition to assist our enquiries. (b) We are left to the uncertain guidance of mere names. Exeter had various British appellations. That it was situated in the midst of woods, is evident from its British name Penhulgoile, or the prosperous chief town in the wood. Not that these woods immediately overshadowed the town. They must have covered the hills at distance; where nature pursued "her horizontal march, with sweeping train of forest." But the appellation of Penbulgoile is vague: Nothing can be deduced from it. One of the names of the British Exeter, however, points out the

<sup>(</sup>a) The name itself is British—Brike—plur. Bricion in Irish. Wbitaker.
(b) The people of Holcombe-Burnell, indeed, have an idle tale on this subject. On a common in Holcombe-Burnell, is an old military work, which the village-historians ascribe to the ancient Britons. They have a tradition, handed down from generation to generation, that the Britons had fixed on this spot for the scite of their capital, and that in this ditch we trace the foundations of the original Exeter; which, however, for the convenience of water, was shortly removed to its present fituation.

nature of the foil on which it stood: And the word is Caerath, which fignifies, the city of the red foil. This the Britons applied to Exeter. And Rougemont, or the Red-Mount, corresponding with this name, would lead us to fix the original Exeter at Rougemont-Castle, where the color of the whole mound is deep red. In the mean time, the name of Isca, derived from its river, and Caerisk, the water-city, or the city on the river, would bring the original town, perhaps, more to the west. Mr. Whitaker was inclined, on a very curfory view of Exeter, some years since, to place the British town upon the old ford. "The old ford (says Mr. Whitaker) (a) was and is, I think, slanting over the river below the old bridge. The high ground, then, at the city-end of this ford, or the island itself there, if not too much overflowed in winter, must be the scite." But I sufpect, that the island was overflowed in winter, and even under water in the summer season. The island, indeed, could scarcely have existed at this early period, when the river, probably, strayed at liberty over the adjacent valley, confined by no artificial barriers. There is reason to suppose, that the Exe overslowed all the low grounds from the town to the fields under Cowick. It feems, then, that the British names of Exeter, tend to embarrass the subject, rather than to clear it from its difficulties, whilst Caerath directs us to the north, and Caerisk to the fouth-west of the city. But, perhaps, these appellations may be brought to restect light on each other, if we conceive the British city to have occupied the whole intermediate space between Rougemont and the Island. And indeed, all the British names of Exeter, ambiguous as they are with regard to its situation, very plainly mark its superiority over the Danmonian towns; a distinction, doubtless, owing to the extent of its buildings. In Penbulgoile (the prosperous chief town in the wood) in Caerath (the city of the red soil) and Caerisk (the city on the waters) we cannot but fee its eminence. And Pencaer, or the chief city (another name of Exeter) more peculiarly points out its greatness. The ground-plot of the British Exeter, was certainly not fo contracted as is generally imagined. Among the British gold coins found at Karnbre(b) in 1749, there is one remarkable coin, on which is engraved the plan of a city. Borlase has given us a view of those coins; (c) and he thus describes the coin in question. No. XII. has, on the head, feveral parallel lines, fashioned into squares, looking like the plan of a town; of which the streets cross nearly at right angles, and the whole is cut by one straight and wider street than the rest." The Doctor afterwards adds: "The figure in the head of number XII. has been before observed to resemble the ichnography of a city, and was, probably, inferred in the coin by the founder, to record the erection of fome city; for that the Britons had such cities is very plain from the noble ruins (a circuit about three or four miles) near Wrottesley, in the county of Stafford, where the parallel partitions, within the outwall, whose foundations are still visible, and represent streets running different ways, put it out of doubt that it must have been a city, and that of the Britons." I am rather surprized, that Dr. Borlase should have thus remarked upon the ground-plot of his city, without venturing to conjecture what city it was. The gold-coin, on which this plan is exhibited, is evidently a coin of the Britons. It represents a British city: And it was found in Danmonium. Is it not natural to suppose then, that this was a city of Danmonium—and, probably, the metropolis? This plan of the Danmonian city must immediately suggest the idea of the original Exeter, even to those who have never seen the modern. But, whoever has visited the modern Exeter, must instantly recognize it in the Karnbre coin. It exhibits a very good groundplot of Exeter. We have here the fore-street, from east to west, running through the city in straight lines. And there is a wonderful accuracy in the plan. The fore-street does not pass through the centre of it; but the larger part of the plot lies to the south, and the smaller segment to the north; which is precisely true of the city of Exeter. Surely this was not a random plot of some British town. Though, possibly, the other streets that interfect it may not bear examination, as compared with the present Exeter, yet it sufficiently resembles the modern city, to be received as an engraving of the ancient. What should rather excite our admiration is, that this engraving should be so fimilar to the present Exeter, allowing for the alterations in the streets and buildings, in

(b) See Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 242.

(c) Plate 19.

<sup>(</sup>a) In a letter to the author. Had this excellent Antiquary leifure to inspect the city, I doubt not but he would soon fix the scite of the original town, to the satisfaction of the learned.

fuch a course of time. (a) That this is the ichnography of the British Exeter, is certainly a new discovery, and, on account of its novelty, will be regarded at least with a suspicious eye. But if the coin on which it is found be British, which Borlase has clearly proved, it is, affuredly, the ichnography of a British city. And, if it represent a British city, has not Exeter, for the reasons I have stated, the best claim to be considered as its archetype? At all events, it corroborates our argument in favor of the British architec-It not only corroborates our argument, but it decides upon the point with the most happy precision. It dissipates from our minds every doubt of the British skill in building; whilst it exhibits a large city, with one grand street stretching through the length of it, and a variety of inferior streets passing in different directions through the whole. After all this disquisition, we may safely, I think, conclude, that the Isca Danmoniorum was no mean fortress in the woods, but a metropol's of the western kingdom, well worthy the oriental genius. But, though the metropolis was thus magnificent, we are not to look for an extensive display of architecture in the other Danmonian towns. Isca had become the royal residence: Here, therefore, the most numerous as well as the most stately buildings, would naturally be erected. The Danmonian genius, however, was versatile and capricious: Its exertions were not long confined to any single spot. In the mean time, I think it highly probable, that there were towns, in each of the cantreds, more respectable than are generally attributed to the Britons. Richard mentions the offium Isca fluvii: And, from the mercantile character of the Danmonians, I should conceive a town of some consequence to have been built at the mouth of the Exe. In this commercial light, Okehampton, also, rifes to view; fituated on the Ocrinum Jugum, by the rivers Ockment, and preferving the communication between the metropolis of Danmonium, and the country to the north of this chain of mountains: And Okehampton, in a line with Exeter, might have been included in the cantred of Isca. But Drewsteington, the town of the Druids upon the Teign, was exceeded, perhaps, only by the metropolis in extent or magnificence of building. Its name announces it to have been the chief town of the Druids, upon the Teign. (b) As Exeter was probably supported by its manufacturers and merchants, fo Drewsteington might have been supported by its priefts. That it was their favourite residence, is clearly proved by the many Druidical veftiges around it. It has not flourished, indeed, as a town for ages: But this is no objection to my supposition. As Druidism declined, its chief mansion sunk: And with its Druids, Drewsteington perished. Nor is it likely, that the Romans would attempt to prop the mouldering ruin. The Romans would rather have razed it to the ground. They were the inveterate enemies of Druidism: And its chief seat was, probably, the first object of their vengeance. And Totnes, from its high antiquity, has, doubtless, some claim to distinction among the British towns. Totnes is situated on the ascent of a (c)rocky hill. It may be described, at present, as one good street about a mile in length, from

(a) The 6th coin in the 19th plate, in Borlase, seems to be a duplicate of the 12th coin, though greatly defaced.

(b) Drewston in the parish of Drewsteignton, and Drewston in Chagford, were also Druid towns.
(c) Leland thinks its original name was Dodonesse, signifying "a rocky town." Nesse is a promontory.
Westcote, speaking of Totnes, says: "It prescribes for antiquitie before any great Bryttanie yeildes; I speak vpon the good warrant of Geffry of Monmouth, who resolutely affirmeth, that the samous Roman Trojan landed in this country, first at this place, when hee conquered this land: which is confirmed also by the strength of the Poet Havillan (if hee presume not a little too boldly) when hee sayth.

Indee dato Cursu Brutus Comitatus Achate

Gallorum spoliis cumulatus navibus æquor Exarat, et superis, auraque faventibus vsus Littora fælices intrat Totonesia portus.

This granted (for who will question the long belieued history of Brutus) wee may boldly & clearly prescribe before all the townes and cityes in Great Bryttaine, for if there were any in Albion before his arrivall wee finde noe mention of them. Now let vs make a brise computation (to aver our tenet and to pass the time withall while wee are in this good towne) Brute arrived here in the time (as Graston saith) that Hely was high Priest of Israel Anno mundi 2856: before our redemption 1108 yeares, who after hee had conquered many samous Gyants, and his Cosen Corineus had in fayr play at a pull of wrestling thrown their Chiefe Leader Gogmagog over the Haw of Plymouth (though the Kentish-men will have it to bee at Dover) hee tooke a Survey of all this island, and coming by the ryver Tames for the great pleasure hee tooke in the fayr meadowes, pleasant pastures, amenitic of

from east to west. It was once walled, and had four gates. Nor ought we to forget Armenton. Baxter in his glossary maintains, that Armenton or Arminton, was the Ardua of Anonymous Ravennas, and that this was an erroneous transcript of Armina-Ar-min-au, ad labium unda—so called by the Britons. According to this writer, therefore, it was an ancient British town. And where could the first Britons(a) have more commodiously fixed their habitations, than on the banks of the river Arme? The town of Plymton feems to be marked as British by its conspicuous mound. The Tamara of Ptolemy and of Richard, which is still echoed by Tamerton, was, assuredly, a town of the Danmonians; and placed on the banks of such a fine river as the Tamar, it was, probably, a town of high commercial character. And the Voluba and Uxella of Ptolemy and Richard, as well as the Cenia of Richard, in the more western parts of Danmonium, must be placed among the ancient towns of the Britons. In the mean time, Termolus(b) and Artavia, (c) which Richard attributes to the Cimbri, and (d) Musidum and (e) Halangium, which the same writer places among the Carnabii, are to be considered as slowrishing towns before the Roman arrival: And, though not noticed by the ancient geographers, Redruth or the Druid's-town, is peculiarly distinguished by the castle of Karnbre in its vicinity. Thus, then, have I placed the civil architecture of Danmonium in a more respectable light than it is generally considered. And, according to this theory, the military architecture of the Britons must proportionably rise in our esteem. Cæsar informs us, that the whole study of the nobles was war. That they should have made, therefore, a very great proficiency in the science of fortification might naturally be expected. The notion of the simple fortress in the woods, seems to be chiefly taken from pected. The notion of the simple fortress in the woods, seems to be chiefly taken from Cæsar's description of a British town. But this description has not been sufficiently regarded. It is a picture of Britons skilled in war: It conveys to us an exalted idea of their military architecture. The fortress of Cassivellaunus, was oppidum silvis paludibustical the Britons says Cassar silvesting impeditas valle atom softa municipant. que munitum. And the Britons, fays Cæsar, silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt.

the ayre, and buckfome foyle, bordering her bankes (I doe but exemplifie the history) hee there began to build a citye, which in remembrance of the ancient razed Troy hee called Troye-novant which some 1041 yeares after by King Ludd named Luddstowne, now breifly London: Soe suppose Brute posted through the country, yet could hee not make such hast with his armye, in a strange countrye, in mountainous woodye, untraded wayes, unmanured land, but it would require time; and hee could hardly conquer the whole Island which had such strong inhabitants, and especially build fuch a citye in less then 20 yeares, foe beeing 20 years before London it must bee 376 yeares antienter then Rome, which was after London 356. and Chayr Ebrauck (now called Yorke) as built by Ebrauck king Mempricius fonn, 140 yeares after Anno mundi 2972. foe wee are clear for antiquitie. Now let vs fee what other matter it yieldes worthy our observation, we finde that Aurelius Ambros with his brother Vter Pendragon sonnes to Constantius (of the mixed blood of the Bryttaines and Romanes) who fled very young from hence into Little Bryttaine (vpon the death of their elder brother king Constantius the younger trayterously slain by Vortigern termed the scourge of the countrye and king-killer) returned hither in their riper yeares, and besieged the Traytor in his Castle in Wales and consumed him with fire, about the yeare of our Lord 450. yet whence it should take name, or of the Etymologie not a word is spoken: some take it from the french word. Tout alesse which by interpretation is all at ease; as if Brute at his arrivall in such a pleasant and fruitfull soyle, & healthy ayre, after soe painfull a navigation should assure himselfe & his sellowe trauellers of ease and rest, and soe say vnto them, tout alesse & the L in soe long time changed into N. (which is noe great alteration) we call it Toutanesse; this I could easily and willingly applaud, could I think of Brute being a Roman Trojan spake soe good french, or that the french tongue was then spoken at all; therefore I shall rather joyne in opinion with those which will have it called Dodonesse which sensitives the rockie towers on some which is very will haue it called Dodonesse which fignifyeth the rockie towne, or towne on stones, which is very probable (and agreeable to the mind of Leland that ancient Antiquarie) for it standes on the declining

of a hill verie stonie and rockie: others shall have leave to make conjectures & hunt further for the derivation of the name; I have done." Westcote's View of Devonshire (Portledge M.S.) p. 205, 206.

(a) "It was with these Armenians (says Vallancey, on the authority of Sir George Yonge) that the Phenicians traded for tin: And we have, at this day, many places of Phenician origin in their names, both in Devon and Cornwall. And in the S.W. of Devonshire, there is still a river, called Arming, and the town and hundred are called Arming, to this day. So, likewise, there was the Armine; and the town and hundred are called Armine-ton to this day. So, likewife, there was the Scotium Mons in Armenia." This is an odd coincidence!

(b) Molland.
(c) Camden speaks of "two towns, called Herton and Hertland, on the promontory of Hercules, called, at this day, Herry-poinct."

(d) St. Marves-qu. (e) Helftone-qu.

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And the fort in question was locum egregie natura atque opere munitum. (a) The British fortress, we see, was planted in the centre of the woods, defended by the advantages of its position, and secured by a regular rampart and sosse. And Cæsar speaks in the highest terms of its strength and contrivance. But this fastness in the woods, was no other than such a clanship as I at first described, agreeably to the vulgar idea of the British town. It was here, that the chief resided at intervals, together with his vassals and his cattle. Fond of changing the scene, he frequently removed from one fortress to another: And the number of his fortresses must have been determined by the extent of his property. If, then, the Britons could display such admirable workmanship in these occasional habitations, they must have exerted their ingenuity much more conspicuously in fortifying those cities or towns, where commerce or other causes had fixed their residence. Here, the fortress of the chief would be built on a more enlarged plan: And a castle would rife, in the bosom of the wood, perhaps in a turret-like form, and fortified with more extensive outworks. Of this fort of structure, perhaps the castle of Karnbre is the only one remaining, which we should venture to ascribe to the Britons. Karnbrecastle(b) stands on a rocky knoll at the eastern end of Karnbre-hill. "The building is footed on an irregular ledge of valt rocks, whose surfaces are very uneven, some high, fome low; and, consequently, the floors of the rooms on the ground-floor must be so The rocks were not contiguous; for which reason the architect has contrived so many arches from rock to rock, as would carry the wall above. The ledge of rocks was narrow; and the rooms purchased by so much labor, neither capacious nor handsome." There were some buildings, at the N. W. end, which were the outworks to this castle: But its greatest security was the difficult approach to it; the hill being strewed with large rocks on every side. But in the more improved clanship, the fortress where the chief resided, was by no means sufficient for its defence. Some building must have been necesfary, perhaps, on a more elevated scite, capacious enough for a large garrison, and for the residence, also, of the chief and his domestics. I have already observed, that a mount was, probably, erected on the highest grounds, in the neighbourhood of every clanship—that it was, at first, the mark of a new settlement, agreeably to the Asiatic custom, but that, very shortly, it was used as a beacon. In process of time, however, these mounts presented themselves to the Britons, as the most convenient situations for their castellated structures: And, for the defence of the more populous and flourishing clanships, which had been enlarged into considerable towns, and in which the inhabitants, at length, were stationary, the beacon became the (c)keep of a castle. Thus, in Ireland, are a great number of round hills, for the most part artificial, on which turrets or castles are erected.(d) The castle of Rougemont stands on the highest part of the hill on which Exeter is built, and on the N. E. extremity. The mount, was, probably, volcanic; and the masonry on the top of it, raised by the labor of the ancient Britons: But the outworks must be attributed to subsequent times. Okehampton-castle, which stands a little west of the centre of the county, and near the town of Okehampton, is said to have been built by Baldwin de Brioniis, who, as it appears from Domesday-book, was in possession of it, when that survey was taken. But, I think, this castle has the appearance of much higher antiquity. Its scite near Ockinton (the town on the Ock) and just on the Ocrinum Jugum, which carries with it the name of the river, suggests to us the idea of a British fortress; whilst its artificial mount, thrown up on so commanding a spot, feems equally calculated for the purposes of a colonial landmark, a beacon, or a keep. At present, Okehampton-castle is in ruins; though there remains a part of the keep, and fome fragments of high walls, the folidity of which, together with their advantageous fituation, and the space they occupy, clearly evince, that when entire, this castle was both strong and extensive. The castle of Totnes stands on the N.W. side of the town, not far from the ruins of the north-gate. Its keep, of great acclivity, rifes to a towering height, and commands the circumjacent country to a vaft extent. The mount of earth at Plymton, was, doubtless, thrown up by the Britons. This mount of a pyramidical form, is about two hundred feet in circumference, and seventy in height: On the top,

(a) Cæfar, lib. v. fect. xx.

(d) See Wright's Louthiana.

<sup>(</sup>b) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 319, 320.
(c) A Keep is a building elevated above the rest, by a mount or tumulus, for the most part artificially raised. Borlase's Antiquities, p. 318.

it has a circular wall. Trematon-castle, near Saltash, from its keep and other particulars, I conceive to have been British. That it existed before the Norman Conquest, will be proved hereafter. And it was certainly neither Danish, Saxon, nor Roman. But whether it was raifed by the Britons in this or a subsequent period, we cannot determine. Restormel-castle was, likewise, anterior to the conquest: But when it was built by the Britons, is uncertain. It stands about a mile north of the town of Lostwithiel, not on a factitious hili, but on a recky knoll on the edge of a hill, overlooking a deep valley. The rock is planed into a level, and shaped round by a ditch: And the keep erected upon the rock, has sufficient elevation. At Trematon, the keep is raised on an artificial hill. As Launceston, or Dunheved-castle was, undoubtedly, the strongest and the most spacious of all the Danmonian castles, I shall give a more particular description of it. Leland, who had feen the most remarkable buildings in England, observes: "The(a) hill, on which the keep stands, is large, and of a very terrible height, and the arx of it—the keep—having three several wards, is the strongest, but not the biggest that ever I saw in any ancient work in England." The principal entrance (says Borlase) (b) is on the N. E. the gateway, one hundred and twenty feet long. The whole keep is ninety-three feet diameter. It confifted of three wards. The wall of the first ward was not quite three feet thick, and therefore, I think, could only be a parapet to defend the brow of the hill. The wall of the fecond ward is twelve feet thick, and has a ftair-case three feet wide, at the left hand of the entrance, running up to the top of the rampart: The entrance of this stair-case has a round arch of stone over it. On the left of the entrance into the third ward, a stair-case leads to the top of the innermost rampart, the wall of which is ten feet thick, and thirty-two feet high from the floor. The room is eighteen feet fix inches diameter. The lofty taper hill on which this strong keep is built, is partly natural and partly artificial. It spread farther into the town anciently than it does at present; and by the radius of it was three hundred and twenty feet diameter, and very high. Norden gives us a wall at the bottom of this hill: And, though there is no stress to be laid on his drawings, yet it is not unlikely that it had a wall or parapet, round the bottom of it, towards the town; as the principal rampart of the bass-court breaks off very abruptly, fronting the town. More than half the bafs-court is now covered with houses." Mr. King's remarks on this castle are ingenious. "Launceston-castle(c) (says Mr. King) must be placed among castles of very great antiquity; both on account of the manner in which the stair-cases are constructed, and on account of the small dimensions of the area of the inner tower. Perhaps, it was erected in the first ages, by the Danmonii, who had acquired a degree of art beyond the rest of the Britons, from their commercial intercourse with the eastern nations." But my conjectures relating to the eastern origin of the Danmonii, will best answer to the subsequent description. "We cannot but remark (continues Mr. King) the fimilarity between this Castle of Launceston, and that of Ecbatana, the capital of Media, as described by Herodotus. The keep of our magnificent fortress, which was built in the first ages of the world, greatly resembles the keep of Ecbatana. At Launceston we find three great and elevated circular walls, towering over and behind each other; namely, the wall of the first ward; that of the second ward; and that of the innermost ward or central tower. Besides which, there is, on one part, the outward wall of the bass-court of the castle-which would appear in many directions at a distance, as a fourth wall beneath the rest. Herodotus( $\hat{d}$ ) tells us, that Dejoces compelled the Medes to come under one polity, and to build a city, furrounded with fortifications; and that feven firong and magnificent walls (known by the name of Ecbatana) were then built. They were, he fays, of a circular form, one within the other; and each gradually raifed just so much above the other as the battlements are high; the fituation of the ground, which rose by an easy ascent, being favourable to the design. The king's palace and treasury were built within the innermost circle of the seven which composed the city. The first and most spacious of those walls, was equal, in circumference, to the city of Athens; and white from the foot of the battlements; the second black; the third of a purple color; the fourth blue; and the fifth of a deep orange—all being coloured with different compositions. And of the two innermost walls, one was

<sup>(</sup>a) Vol. 2, p. 79.

<sup>(</sup>b) Antiquities, p. 326. (c) Arch. vol. 6. p. 291.

<sup>(</sup>d) Book Ist.

painted on the battlements, of a filver color; and the other gilded with gold. Having thus provided for his own fecurity, he ordered the people to fix their habitations without the walls of this city. This is very nearly a description of Launceston-castle, and the adjacent town—almost the only difference being, that the scale in one instance, is larger than in the other, and that the battlements of the walls of the one were painted with different colors, and those of the other lest plain. As to the affinity of these buildings, or the derivation of the plan of Dunheved, from the east, every one must be lest to form his own conclusions: But when I read in the 9th chapter of the 2d book of Kings, that on Jehu's being anointed King over Israel, at Ramoth-Gilead, the captains of the host, who were then sitting in council, as soon as they heard thereof, took every man his garment, and put it under him, on the top of the sairs; and blew with trumpets, proclaiming—and put it under him, on the top of the sairs; and blew with trumpets, proclaiming—and put it under him, on the top of the sairs; and blew with trumpets, proclaiming—and put it under him, on the top of the sairs; and blew with trumpets, proclaiming—as at no great distance from Syria, and in a country much connected with it, and restect also, upon the appearance of the top of the staircase, at Launceston, I am apt to conclude, that at Launceston, is still to be beheld nearly the same kind of architectural scenery, as

was exhibited on the inauguration of Jehu at Ramoth-Gilead."

Thus I have described two sorts of British castles; the first fort turretwise; the fecond with a keep. And I have described the British architecture, both civil and military, in a more advanced flate than is generally conceived. In the mean time, there were roads, which not only passed from town to town, but formed extensive communications through Danmonium and the neighbouring kingdoms. That Belinus made a high road through the whole length of the island, is afferted by our chronicles: But this, furely, is apocryphal.(a) The existence of British roads may be maintained on better authority. The trading spirit of the Danmonians could not have rested for a moment without such communications. Before the Romans (fays Mr. Whitaker) there were, probably, several ways in the southern parts of the island; which had been previously laid out, though rudely, for the public use, and adapted, though indifferently, to the conveyance of its natural commodities to the ports, and to the introduction of foreign from them. (b) Mr. Whitaker plainly proves, that the two great roads of the Watling and Ikening freets (the first leading to the Guetheli or Gatheli of Ireland—the second, to the Iceni of the eastern coast) were originally undertaken and executed before the invasion of the Romans. 4 Both must have been begun, he says, by the Belgæ of the south countries: And, what is very extraordinary, both plainly appear to have commenced from the fouth." According to my theory, the first British roads would have been framed by the Danmonii, in whose country the British trade originated: And, in the progress of commerce from the west, these roads would have been gradually extended, and new communications opened through the island.

Such

(b) Col. Simcoe is of opinion, that the British commerce must have required public roads before the Roman arrival. In a letter to the author, the Colonel says: "The mountainous region of

<sup>(</sup>a) Sammes tells us, in his Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, that "Belyn fet himself to the finishing of that great work begun by his sather Dunwallo, the making and paving of sour great high-wayes through his kingdom of Loggria, now called England. The first is named Foss, and beginneth at the corner of Totness in Cornevall, and passeth through Devoushire and Somerfetshire, and so to Coventry, Leicester, and from thence (as Ranulph, a mouk of Chefter, recordeth) through the wastes to Newark, and ended at Lincoln." P. 173. "Att this town held the most south or southmost part of this kingdome began the Fsosse-street which with Watling-street & Ikmeld-street & Exming-street were the 4 high-wayes that transcried over England, first began by that sapient Lawguier Mulmutius kinge of this Realme, and finished & paued by his martial sonne Belynus vpon the credit of the Bryttysh storye 500 yeares before the incarnation of Christ. thes 4 wayes crossed over the whole Land, being very needfull & necessary both in warrs as peace, and previledged as well by Mulmutius his own edicts as the Roman Lawes, and should bee in like respect with vs, the name intimating as much; the Kings High way. and Bracton saith they are Res sacra, et qui aliquid occupaverit, excedendum sines et terminus terra sua, dicitur secisse prapesuram super infum regem: They are priviledged places, and hee that makes trespass there committs preprasure vpon the King himselfe. This stosse to bee perceived) and soe (as an Author saith) to Tutburye & by Chesterton, by Coventre, who Leycester, and soe from thence by wildes and playnes to Newark and thence to Lyncoln." Westcote's View (Portledge M.S.) p. 206.

(b) Col. Simcoe is of opinion, that the British commerce must have required public roads before

Such are the two different representations of the civil and military architecture of the Britons; which, I think, may be brought to harmonize, by considering the little towns in the woods or the caverns in the rocks, as the immediate resource of the settlers, and the larger towns or cities as the product of an advanced colonization. Nor is it at all improbable, that a great number of such fastnesses in the woods, which were by no means contemptible, should have remained in their original state, the temporary residence of their respective chiefs; whilst a few from their advantageous scite, or other circumstances, might have been furrounded with buildings to a great extent, the feats of manufacture and the marts of commerce. If, however, these different representations cannot be reconciled, I do not scruple to attribute the meaner architecture to the Belgic tribes; whilft the more splendid and magnificent, undoubtedly, belongs to our colonists from Asia.

From the civil and military buildings of the Danmonii, let us pass to the religious. The vestiges of Druidism that are to be traced in Danmonium, must be our chief guide, on the present subject. I shall describe our Druidical monuments in the following order—the Rock-Idol—the Logan-Stone—the Rock-Bason—the single Stone-Pillar—two, three, or more Stone-Pillars-Circular Stone-Pillars-Inscribed Stone-Pillars-and the Cromlech. In the Druid ages, stones of various shapes were consecrated to religion. The Arabians, the Syrians, and the Phenicians worshipped conical or quadrangular stones, the images of their Gods. But the eastern people confined not their homage to rocks of a particular shape: They prostrated themselves before the rudest. In Danmonium, the Druids, as I have already observed, professed to believe, that rocky places were the favourite abodes of their divinities. And, wherever we find stones, which are at the same time massy and mishapen, there we look for the druidical gods. Vastness, in short, and rudeness, were the characteristics of the Druid Rock-Idols. In Cornwall, Borlase has noticed a great number of these stone deities; though he seems to have indulged his fancy in attempting to give exact and discriminating delineations of idols that mock description. In Devonshire, we have an ample field for such investigation. But, the misfortune is, that nature has exhibited her wild scenery in so many places, that we know not whither to direct our first attention. She has scattered the rocks around us so profusely, that we are afraid to fix on a Druid-Idol, left the neighbouring mass should have the same pretensions to adoration; and all the stones upon the hills and in the vallies, should start up into divinities. If Bowerman's-Nose, for instance, in the vicinity of Dartmoor, be confidered as a rock-idol of the Druids, there is scarcely a torr on the forest, or its environs, Yet this enormous mass of stone upon Heighenbut may claim the fame distinction. down, in Manaton, has been marked as druidical. Placed on a most elevated spot, it rises to the height of more than fifty feet. Viewed at a distance, it has the appearance of a human figure: and its gigantic form has given rife to a variety of fables. On approaching it, we find that it confifts of several ledges of granite, piled one upon another, in the rudest manner. If, however, we bow down to this granitical god, we shall meet deities at every step; whilst (a) Heytorr, a hundred feet in height, the torrs of Bellever and of Hessary—whilst Mistorr, and the torr of Ham, (b) Steeperton-torr, and Miltorr and Rowtorr, frown on us with new majesty. Thus Dartmoor would be one wide Druid(c)

Dartmoor (part of the Ocrinum Jugum of the ancients) separates Devonshire into two districts, each of which must have had its distinct road; while a third must have penetrated the mountains, to afford a ready conveyance for the tin, which abounded in those regions. These roads, from the nature of a ready conveyance for the tin, which abounded in those regions. These roads, from the nature of the country, must have passed the Exe at the same ford, in their progress towards the isle of Wight: and this ford I take to have been that above Cowley Bridge, between Pynes and the camp on the heights of Stoke, above Duryard, the ancient wood, as its name fignifies. This road, upon the fame principles, may be traced over the Clyst, the Otter, and the Axe, till it leaves Devonshire; and must have been prior to Vespasian. Sir R. Worsley, in his History of the Isle of Wight, to the best of my recollection, mentions the ford, and where it is probable (according to Diodorus) that it passed to that island." This far Colonel Simcoe. That passage of Diodorus Siculus, which relates to the Danmonian commerce, will be examined in the eighth section of this chapter.

(a) Certainly a rock-idol: Its bason, added to its enormity and unshapeliness, determines the point.

(b) Hamstorr on Dartmoor.

(c) Figuratively speaking. The principal rocks on Dartmoor, however, might have been British idols. And in the vicinity of each idol, was, probably, a British town. Blackstone and Whitstone, we may conclude, were rock-idols, from the terms of wonder with which they are noticed both by

temple; and its dark waste, now consecrated ground, would breathe a browner horror. In the parish of Drewsteignton, which seems to have been singled out by the Druids, as the peculiar feat of their religion, there is, at the end of a down, at no great distance from the Cromlech, an awful precipice; where the rocks are divulsed into gloomy chasms, and terminate abruptly in a perpendicular manner. Than this spot, none could be more adapted to religious worship fub dio, or to the accommodation of a numerous assembly. One rock in particular, about fixteen feet high, detached from other masses and plane on the superficies, the quoit of which hanging over the stratum below projects three or four feet, appeared well suited for an orator to address the multitude. Adjoining to this spot is another detached body, most singular in its appearance—having two ledges approaching towards each other, yet not touching, being separated by a perpendicular hollow about a foot wide, through which may be difcerned other rocks lying behind. Over these, in the manner of a Cromlech, a transverse enormous impost superintends, decorated with old fantastic ivy, and tusted with a moss peculiar to the moorstone. At a little distance from Grimspound, on Hameldown, in Manaton, is Grimsforr; to the south of which, on Withecombe-common, is Broad-burrow, and still further fouth, Threeburrows. About four miles from Ashburton, in the parish of Dean-Prior, the vale of Dean-Burn unites the terrible and the graceful in so striking a manner, that to enter this recess hath the effect of enchantment; whilst enormous rocks feem to close around us, amidst the deep foliage of venerable trees, and the roar of torrents. And Dean-Burn would yield a noble machinery for working on fuperstitious minds under the direction of the Druids. In the mean time, shapeless piles of stone, on Exmoor or the adjacent country, might be approached as rock-idols of the Britons. The Valley of Stones, indeed, in the vicinity of Exmoor, is so awfully magnificent, that we need not hesitate in pronouncing it to have been the favourite residence of Druidism. And the country around it, is peculiarly wild and romantic. (a) This valley is about half a mile in length, and, in general, about three hundred feet in breadth, fituated between two hills, covered with an immense quantity of stones, and terminated by rocks which rise to a great height, and present a prospect uncommonly grotesque. At an opening between the rocks, towards the close of the valley, there is a noble view of the British channel and the Welsh coast. The scenery of the whole country in the neighbourhood of this curious valley is wonderfully striking. (b) The Valley of Stones has a close resemblance

Risdon and Westcote. The latter thus expresses himsels: "I recall mysels to Moreton, vpon fight of those two workes which shew themselves so great and huge, they are distant one from the other three miles, and are distinguished by severall names of White one and Blackstone, the last seemeth somewhat strange to all beholders, to other some a fearefull wonder, for it is a very great worke set vpon another of much lesse quantity, which it overlayeth sfar on each syde. And embossed with so great a bellye that many men and beasts may be sheltered under the coverture thereof yet so equally peazed that there is noe sfeare of stalling though it seeme at first doubtfull." Westcote's View (Portledge M.S.) p. 220.

(Portledge M.S.) p. 220.

(a) The Valley of Stones is, in some measure, indebted, for the distinction to which it hath lately been raised, to Dr. Pococke, Bishop of Upper-Offery, who visited it some years since, with Dr.

Milles, Dean of Exeter.

(b) A Gentleman, who lately visited this valley, was so kind as to communicate the following description of it to the Author: "At the lower end, where the valley of stones was the widest, about four hundred feet, in the middle (as it were stopping up the valley) arose a vast bulwark of rocks, tier upon tier, like some gigantic building in part demolished; and the stones that composed it flung across each other in the wildest confusion—a mass more rude and enormous than any I had yet observed. More than half of the valley was shut from the sea by its broad base, which tapering by degrees, closed at its apex in a conical form. The imagination would be at a loss to figure a ruder congeries than was here beheld. Rocks piled upon rocks at one time in unequal and rough layers; at another, transverse, and diagonally inclined against each other; in short, in every form possible to be conceived; threatening, however, every moment to be released from their contiguity to one another, and to precipitate themselves into the valley or the depth of waters. On the left side, one only rock attracted my notice. This projected boldly from the inclining steep, and thrusting itself forward, braved the cold blasts of the Severn sea with its broad perpendicular front chequered with creeping ivy, and teinted with variegated moss. The valley lost itself rapidly, on either side the conical mountain in the sea. Beyond it, the cliss rose higher and higher, upright from the waters—towards the interior country cloathed with wood, which (though at a distance) formed a pleasing and striking contrast with the scenery on this side, which had nothing of the picturesque in it, but comprized every thing that was wild, grand, and terrific."

to feveral of those spots in Cornwall, which tradition has fanctified with the venerable names of rock-idols, Logan-stones, or rock-basons: And the north of Devon, though it may furnish us with no tradition of the Druids, must yet be examined with an eye to druidical antiquities. If the hills or the vallies which have been long confecrated to the genius of the Druids of Cornwall, deserve so high an honor, I have little doubt but that the same distinction is due to those romantic scenes in Devonshire, which hitherto we have been led to view with an incurious eye; or to admire, perhaps, for their rude magnificence, whilst we carried our ideas no farther than the objects themselves. Not that the Druids formed these scenes: No-they only availed themselves of such recesses; to which they annexed fanctity, by commemorating there, the rites of religion. The rockidols are purely natural—as natural as the groves of Mona: But as they fuited the fuperfition of the times, and ferved to add a folemnity to the druidical inftitutions, the policy of those who governed the devotions of the multitude, turned this fantastic scenery to the best account; and secured the public reverence by impressing every imagination with the wild and the terrible. But this was not all. Whilst the fancy was awed with fuch rude grandeur, an attempt was made to attract admiration by fomething that bore the appearance of art: And the Druids endeavoured to gain credit among the vulgar, for the extent of their mechanical powers, by pointing to objects which to a careless eye might appear an artificial structure more than a natural mass, the effect of design and not of chance. But those rocks are, undoubtedly, natural; though some labor was employed, in a few instances, to make them look artificial. Nature, or some great convulfion in nature, left those rocks in their present fantastic state: Or, if any art were applied to rock-idols, it was only to remove fome earth, or fome furrounding stones from the larger or more curious mass: And, then, the whole would put on the tremendous appearance which it now bears. The whole army of Xerxes could not have raised, by force or skill, such ledges of rock, piled up in the Valley of Stones, as if by human industry. The most remarkable rock-idol in this valley is the Cheesewring. Lyttelton(a) observes, that it greatly resembles the cheesewring near Alternon. Between Combmartin and Linton (fays the Dean) (b) and opposite to what you apprehend to be a Druid gorfeddau, is a karn of rocks, which they call the Cheefewring. It is much like that at Alternon." Dr. Borlase has taken no notice of the cheesewring at Alternon; but he describes a wringcheese in the parish of St. Clere—" a groupe of rocks that attracts the admiration of all travellers." The whole heap of stone (he says) is thirty-two seet high: and the great weight of the stones above, and the slenderness of those below, makes every one wonder how so ill-grounded a pile could resist for so many ages the storms of such an exposed situation. It may seem to some, that this is an artificial building of flat stones laid carefully on one another, and raised to this height by human skill and labor: But, as there are several heaps of stones on the same hill, and also on a hill about a mile diftant, called Hell-marr, of like fabrick to this, though not near so high, I should think it a natural cragg, and that what stones surrounded it and hid its grandeur, were removed by the Druids. From the well-poised structure, and the great elevation of the groupe (as well as other circumstances) I think we may truly reckon it among the rock-deities; and that its tallness and nice ballance might probably be intended to express the stateliness and justice of the supreme Being. (c) Borlase discovers the traces of Saturn, Mars, and Mercury, in the names of feveral places, where his rock-idols are fituated. Thus in Bellever-Torr upon Dartmoor, we have the rock of Bel or Belus—in Belfton, at its northern extremity, the town of Belus—in Mistorr the rock of Mistor—in Hesjary-torr the

(a) Afterwards, Bishop of Carlise.

(b) In a letter to Milles.

<sup>(</sup>c) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 165. Perhaps the most curious stone-deity in Cornwall, is that "vast oval pebble in the parish of Constantine, which is placed on the points of two natural rocks. The longest diameter of this stone is thirty-three feet, pointing due north and south: And it is sourteen feet six inches deep. See Borlase's Antiquities, (1) plate XI. p. 166. A very ingenious friend lately informed me, that he had long considered this Tolmen as "Cuthite, and as a representation of the ARK ressing on Mount Ararat." He once suggested this idea to Mr. BRYANT, who, on looking at the plate in Borlase, was struck at the conjecture, and thought it extremely probable. The Tolmen is, undoubtedly, an exact sigure of the Ark.

<sup>(1)</sup> Inscribed " to the Rev. Charles Lyttelton, L. L.D. Dean of Exeter."

rock of Hefus. Thus Hamftorr, also, was the rock of Ham or Ammon: And the numerous (a) Hams in Devonshire, all carry us to the same original. This much for the Rock-Idol. The Logan or Rocking-Stone must, also, be noticed among the rude stone-monuments of the Druids. Pliny hath, evidently, the Logan-stone in view, when he tells us, that at Harpasa, a town of Asia, was a rock of a wonderful nature. "Lay one singer on it and it will stir; but thrust at it with your whole body, and it will not move." (b) There is another passage in Pliny's Natural History, extremely apposite to the present subject: Yet I have never feen it quoted in any account of these natural or artificial wonders. "Talis (Colossus) et Tarenti factus a Lysippo XL cubitorum. Mirum in eo, quod manu, ut ferunt, mobilis, ea ratione libramenti est, ut nullis convellatur procellis: Id quod providisse et artifex dicitur, modico intervallo, unde maxime statum opus erat frangi, opposita columna. Itaque propter magnitudinem dissicultatemque movendi non attigit eum Fabius Verrucosus, cum Herculem qui est in capitolio inde transferret."(c) In Wales, this stone is called Y Maen Sigl, that is, the Shaking-stone. But, "in Cornwall, we call this stone Logan (says Borlase) the meaning of which I do not understand." This is singular. In the language of the vulgar, to logg is to move to and fro:(d) It is a frequent word both in Cornwall and Devon, at the present day: And it always implies this kind of vibratory motion. (e) Toland feems to be of opinion, that the Logan-stone was placed in its present position by human art. But, in general, it is thus nicely balanced by the hand of nature. In the parish of Drewsteignton, under Piddledown, and in the channel of the Teign, is a druidical The Moving-rock is thus poised upon another mass of monument of this description. stone, which is deep-grounded in the bed of the river: It is unequally sided, of great fize, at some parts six, at others seven feet in height, and at the west end, ten. From its west to east points, it may be in length about eighteen feet. It is flattish on the top. It feems to touch the stone below in no less than three or four places; but, probably, it is the gravel which the floods have left between, that causes this appearance. I easily rock'd it with one hand; but its quantity of motion did not exceed one inch, if so much. The equipoife, however, was more perceptible a few years fince: And it was, probably, balanced with fuch nicety in former times, as to move with the flightest touch. It is remarkable, that the furface of the lower stone is somewhat sloping, so that it should seem easy to shove off the upper stone; but the united efforts of a number of men, who endeavoured to displace it, had not the smallest effect. Both the stones are granite, which is thick strewn in the channel of the river, and over all the adjacent country. It seems to have been the work of nature. Shall we suppose that it has subsisted from the beginning; or that the upper stone fell from the rocks of the adjoining steep; or was left here by the deluge? On the brow of a hill, near the fame river, at Holy-street, in the parish of Chagford, is another Logan-stone. It is not so large as that at Drewsteignton; is more easily moved, and rocks more. I thought I discovered a cavity in the centre of the surface of the lower stone, seeming to receive a corresponding part of the upper. That this Logan-stone is the work of art, copied by the Druids from similar ones in nature, would not admit of a doubt, if the circumstance of the mortice were (f) ascertained. The scenery around the Drewsteignton

(a) Places confecrated to the god Ham, or colonized by Ham the fon of Noah, afterwards worhipped as a god under various forms.

(c) L. 34, c. 7. (b) Pliny-Lib. II. c. 69. (d) So a Cernish tinner explained the word to me: And, on Ashburton-Downs, a common labourer, on my mentioning a rocking-stone, instantly called it a logan-rock. On my asking him the meaning of logan, he said: "Wby, be loggs (moves) to and fro."

(e) Hift. Druid. p. 103. Before I had paid a visit to the Logan-stones, I received the following remarks on the druidical feenery of Drewiteignton and the neighbourhood, from a gentleman, whose keen infight into antiquities excites my admiration, whilst his good-nature and unaffected manner of communicating his discoveries, no less awaken my gratitude. "On the very edge of the river Teign, is a most enormous stone, or piece of rock, supported on the sharp points of two others, in such a manner, that this stone which hangs over them, may be set in motion by a man, and will vibrate backwards and forwards with an appearance as if it would fall into the river: Yet no power or force can displace it. This hanging-stone is nearly the fize of that which covers the three pillars at Drewsteignton. On each fide of the banks of the Teign, and throughout the parish of Chagford, the fields and roads were covered with huge stones, not quite so large as those at Drewsteignton or at Stickle-path, but which have, also, the appearance of ruins. Large clusters of them are seen in some grounds

Drewsteignton Logan-stone has an uncommon grandeur. The path that leads to it by the margin of the river Teign, winds along, beneath the precipitous hill of Piddle-down. This hill rifes majestically high, to the north: And, at the greatest distance, is seen a channel, like a streamwork, evidently formed by the floods, which have washed down; in many places, the natural foil into the river, and left it bare and rocky, or fandy. On the other fide of the Teign, and opposite to this hill, the richness of Whiddon-park forms a beautiful contrast with these craggy declivities. Such is this druidical scenery, which inspires even the cultivated mind with a fort of religious terror. We need not wonder, then, that the ignorant multitude were struck with astonishment at the fearful magnificence of every object, whether they turned their eyes up the steep where the rocks frowned over them, or whether they looked onward through the valley, where foamed the waters of the Teign; fince, to the vulgar, every rock was a god, or the refidence of fome spiritual intelligence, and even the gloom it shed was facred-fince the river was the habitation of genii, by whose agency its waters were restrained within its banks, or burst forth to deluge the country. Amidst such a scene, therefore, the Logan stone, which, doubtless, acquired a more than common degree of fanctity from its position in the very channel of the river, must have been an admirable engine of priestcraft, and have operated on the multitude precifely as the Druids wished. In the parish of Withecombe, between Withecombe-church and Rippen Torr, there is a Logan-stone, of a roundish form, measuring eleven feet in diameter. It is called the Nutcrackers; having been the refort of the common people, during the nut feafon, for the purpose of cracking their nuts. But in consequence of its being thus frequented, the owner of the estate where it flood (if I was rightly informed) got it removed from its ancient position: So that it is, at present, motionless; though, before it was displaced, it was made to vibrate by a very little force. On East-down, in the parish of Manaton, is a Logan-stone, called in the neighbourhood the (a) Whooping-rock, from the noise which it used to make, when fet in motion by the winds. In stormy weather, it might be heard at the distance of at least three miles, with the wind. A few years ago, several persons moved it by main force, off its balance: So that it loggs no more. It is evidently a druidical Loganstone—and has been venerated by the superstitious neighbourhood as an enchanted rock, from the time of the Druids to the present day: And the hands that wantonly displaced it from its primitive position, are execrated by the villagers around, as having profanely violated the spirit of the rock. Two ledges of stone run parallel to each other, with a confiderable opening between them; or rather one large rock, disparted by some violent convulsion. A stone was placed at the west end of the fouth ledge, on one little point. This, then, was the Logan-stone, that moved at the slightest touch, whilst it preserved its equipoise. Near the Valley of Stones, there is a Logan-stone on the top of a very high cliff. The upper stone is of a different quality from that on which it rests. It is more solid and gritty: A large piece of rock is fallen on it. (b)—The use of the Loganstone is uncertain. According to Toland, "the Druids made the people believe, that

grounds adjoining to Whiddon-park: And on a high hill, just above the house of a Mr. Southmead, there is a huge mass, supported at one end by an enormous pillar, and the other end leaning against the hill." I can only add, that in consequence of these remarks, I have narrowly inspected all this scenery—with a strong preposession on my mind, that it was, in a great measure, artificial. I was almost determined to convert every cluster of stones into a ruin: But I was much disappointed on viewing these phenomena. They are certainly natural. If they are ruins, they are the ruins only of nature, deluged by torrents or convulsed by earthquakes.

(a) Giraldus Cambrensis mentions a large flat stone, ten feet long, six wide, and one foot thick, which in his time served as a bridge over the river Alun, in Pembrokeshire. It was called in British, Lech Lawar, that is, the Speaking-stone: And the vulgar tradition was, that when a dead body happened to be carried over, this stone spoke, and with the struggle of the voice cracked in the middle; and the chink, from which the voice issued, was then to be seen. Possibly, this tradition might be owing to its having been once in a situation to make a subcoping sound; like the Whooping-

rock or Logan-stone of Manaton.

(b) Mr. Badcock says, "that he cannot be certain that it ever moved." But his correspondent informs him, that "fome years ago, there was a rock in the Valley of Stones that was balanced and moved, but that one of the fragments near it having fallen through decay, the end rested and still rests on this stone, so that it can no longer be moved. From the whole of what I have heard of it, says this gentleman, I have no doubt but these rocky fragments are the ruins of a Druid temple."

they alone could move these stones, and by a miracle only; by which pretended miracle, they condemned or acquitted the accused, and often brought criminals to confess, what could in no other way be extorted from them."(a) And, furely, it is not improbable, that the Druids discovering this uncommon property in the natural Logan-stones, soon learned to make use of it as an occasional miracle, and that they confectated artificial Logan-rocks, where nature had not already prepared them. Spirits were then reported to inhabit these rocks; the vibratory motion I have described, was adduced in

proof of this; and, to complete the whole, the Logan-stone became an idol.

The two Druidical monuments which I have now represented, are both so rude, and of fuch different fizes, that to convey a just notion of their form, is impossible. They are, indeed, in a great measure, natural. But it is their enormity, the singularity of their position, the curiousness of their combination, and the grotesque appearance of surrounding objects, that suggest the idea of their druidical fanctity. Yet the Rock-idol and the Logan-stone have frequently less dubious marks of Druidism. The Rock-bason, which is often found on both, is a vestige of the Druids, less equivocal. The hollows or artificial basons, sunk into the surface of the rocks, are monuments of a very singular kind. They are generally found on the highest hills, and on the tops of the most confpicuous karns. They are never seen on the side of rocks, but always on the top; their openings horizontally facing the heavens. These basons are not uniform in their shape: some are quite irregular, some oval, and some are exactly circular. Their size is from fix feet to a few inches in diameter. Some have lips or outlets: Others have none. The smaller basons have often little falls into a larger bason, which receives their tribute, and detains it, having no outlet. Other large basons, intermixed with little ones, have passages from one to another, and by successive falls uniting, transmit what they receive into one common bason, which has a drain, that serves itself, and all the basons above it. Dr. Borlase's remarks on Rock-basons, are to this purpose: And my own observations have confirmed the truth of them. Of the basons on the Rock-idols, the following have fallen under my notice. On a rock, at no great disance from the cataract in Christow, is a bason of this description: And there are feveral Rock-basons on the top of that vast pile of stone, at the end of the Druidical down in Drewsteignton. On Willingstone-rock, in Moretonhampstead, are two Rock-basons. Kestor-rock, on the east side of Dartmoor, and Heytorr on the S. E. border of the forest, on Ashburton downs, are natural rocks, rising out of the earth: But they have small basions hollowed out on their tops; of which some will hold sour or five gallons, being two feet or more in diameter, and from fix to ten inches deep. There is a flight of steps, regularly cut out, in Heytorr-rock, by which the Druids might ascend to the bason on the top, and perform the accustomed ceremonies, whilst the multitudes were assembled below. In Withecombe parish, Miltorr must have been a rock in high estimation with the Druid priesthood. On the top ledge of stone (which is twelve feet by eight) there are four basons. The largest bason is two feet three quarters; the fecond, one foot three quarters; the third, one foot and one quarter; the fourth, one foot. The first and fourth, are placed south; the second, due east; the third, north. These Rock-basons have, each of them, a lip: But they do not communicate as is the case in some monuments of this kind. To one of these basons there are little ducts, defigned to lead the water from the inclined plane into the cavity. From this eminence of Miltorr, a wild collection of karns are feen, at various distances, confisting of different species of granite, unmixed with any other stone—such as Belt-torr—Benjietorr-Yarter-torr-Quarnell-torr-Sharper-torr.-On Bel-torr, are two very large Rockbasons, on one detached fragment of rock; and one Rock-bason on another fragment of rock. They are all without lips; and on the very verge of the rocks—which is always, indeed, the case. The fragment (for such I call it from its appearance) on which the two basons appear, is at some distance from the other enormous masses of stone. Benjie-torr is a bare stone hill-Yarter-torr consists of large ledges of rock, irregularly piled—Quarnell-torr will occur among the barrows—On Sharper-torr there is a bason, on the edge of the rock, with one lip. On Dartmoor, within the limits of the parish of Holn, there are various grotesque rocks, with basons. On Pentorr, in Dartmoor, are four basons, cut on the top stone, each about two feet in diameter. On the Loganrock which I have described, in the channel of the Teign, is a bason of an elliptical

<sup>(</sup>a) Hift. of the Druids, p. 203.

The above are the Rock-basons which I have had an opportunity of noticing in And they correspond with Borlase's description of the Rock-basons in Cornwall. But many of these basons are mere natural hollows. And their formation is to be attributed to the water. The surface of the rocks was, at first, rugged: And rainwater, repeatedly falling, and naturally resting in the little hollows, would wear them into deep hollows. Yet there are, furely, Rock-basons that are not owing to such attrition; particularly those which have lips: Most of the lip-hollows are, confessedly, artificial. With respect to the use of these basons, I think we may easily conjecture, that they were contrived by the Druids, as receptacles of water, for the purpose of external purifications by washing and sprinkling. The rites of water-lustration and ablution, were too frequent among the Afiatics, not to be known to the Druids, who refembled the eastern nations in all their religious ceremonies, fashions and customs. In the channelled basons, the lips are generally pointing to that part of the stone, whence the water collected, might be most conveniently discharged into some vessel placed below. Of those which have no lips, the larger cavity hath often a number of little basons in its circumference, to supply it with their tributary water. From such basons, the officiating Druid might fanctify the congregation with a more facred lustration than usual. In this water he might mix his misletoe, or infuse his oak leaves, for a medicinal or incantatorial potion. But on the Logan-stone (whether channelled or otherwise) the motion of the stone might so agitate the water, as to delude the multitude by a pretended miracle; whilft it extorted confession of crimes from the guilty or accused, satisfied the credulous, and reconciled, in fhort, the minds of the people to the druidical decisions which it fanctified.

Hitherto, I have noticed only huge masses of mishapen rock. I shall now proceed to mark the monuments of Druidism, which assume a less irregular appearance: Such are the stones of a columnar form, which, though sufficiently rough, shew, in their position at least, the hand of man. First, for the Single Stone erect.—The Single Stone erect was frequent among the earliest inhabitants of the world. The patriarch Jacob raised several of these pillars, as religious monuments: And Joshua set up a great stone under an oak, that was by the fanctuary of the Lord. The Gentiles erected pillars of the same kind, in every country, for the purposes of superstition. They worshipped, indeed, the pillar: And it hath been conjectured, not without reason, that the appearance of "God in a pillar of fire by night have given rise to this same of ideletty. That the God. pillar of fire by night," might have given rife to this species of idolatry. That the Canaanites worshipped these pillars as gods, we learn from several texts in scripture. "Neither shalt thou rear up a standing pillar; nor set up any image of stone in your land to bow down unto it." Yet the Jews, though thus expressly forbidden to imitate the people of Canaan, fet up pillars on every high hill, and beneath every green tree. To this we may add, that the Brachmans professed to worship the deity under the figure of a little column of stone. Those countries, which had any communication with Syria, Ægypt, or Greece, very foon adopted this idolatrous practice. In this country, there are a great number of high stones, still standing in many places. The Single Stone Jacob set a pillar upon the grave of Rachel. Thus, also, the burial-place of Bohan, the son of Reuben, was distinguished. Ilus was buried in this manner, on the plain before the city of Troy: And the barrow and the pillar are mentioned in Homer, as "the meed of the dead." The monuments of this kind, which Borlase hath described as druidical, are plain columns of stone, without the least inscription. Longstone, in the parish of East Worlington, is, perhaps, a druidical pillar. It is situated in a farm, called Stone, about a mile to the north of Drayford, at a little distance on the left hand from the turnpike road leading from Drayford to Southmolton. The farm, doubtlefs, derived its name from this monument. It is perfectly rough, as if cut out of the rock. Its elevation is about fix feet; and it is thirteen inches square. Though it inclines, at present, a little to the south, yet at first it was erected perpendicularly. This inclination is faid to have been occasioned by a man's digging under it, in hopes of hidden treasure. But its depth below the surface of the ground, is nearly equal, we are told, to its elevation. Stanborough-Rock may be feen from the road between Morleigh and Harberton-Ford. It has been called a druidical pillar: But it appears more like a natural rock. In this manner were pillars erected, fingly: And two, three, or more columns, were, also, assembled for various purposes.—With respect to the two stone monuments, it is thought that they originated among the oriental nations, in honor of their two divi-Vol. I.

nities, the fun and the moon. (a) And the graves of considerable persons were often distinguished by an erected stone at each end of the body interred. Of the two stone monuments, the most famous were the pillars of Hercules, erected at the ancient Gades, as terminations of his western travels. They are called auspooiai respai. In the same manner, two pillars are said to have been erected in honor of Hercules, at (b) Hertland-point, or the Promontory of Hercules, in Devonshire: And at Start-point, there are still the remains of columns, it is supposed, in memory of the Phenician Astarte. Westcote has described two stone pillars near the village of Kenneford. (c) Of three

(a) In places of ancient fepulture, we fometimes find three stones, placed in such a manner as to constitute one monument; where three persons were, perhaps, interred. A number of stones were frequently erected, as memorials of particular circumstances or incidents. Elijah built an altar, composed of twelve stones, according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel.

(b) At Hertland, according to Richard of Cirencester (than whom no better authority can be cited) were pillars commemorative of Hercules. At Artavia "visuntur HERCULIS COLUMNE." Ricard.

(c) "Then this Ryveret nameth a village Ken-ford, throughe which yt fleeteth. And here is a fytt oppertunitie offred to tell you of a wonder, or old fable, or what you please to think yt. I could well forbear to relate yt, but I intend not to stem the tyde, but swymme with the stream and current of the world: for I think (let me well remember) I have seen fewe men in my tyme, which were free from speakinge som folish (at least ydle vayn commentitious fancye) at one tyme or other. But his fortune is worst that speakes them in earnest and with affectation; curiously and ambiti-ously seekinge to procure credyt and belief, when little or none is due. It shall not rightly be sayd of me: yf yt be, I reckon not.

Ne iste magno conatu magnas nugas dixerit. This fellow (fure) with much a-doe, Will tell strange tales and triffles too.

You shall have yt frely at the same price it cost me, and in the same mea-It shall not byte me.

fure as near as I can.

Somwhat above this village as you discend from the great hill of Haldowne toward Exester, at the foote whereof stood along tyme (I cannot say now stand) two stones, pitched on the ends, which to strang traveyllers seemed to be ther placed for passengers with the more ease (especially woemen, which then perchanc were not used to be lysted upp, and in that age went not in coaches) to take ther horse; for commonly all men walk down that steep discent. But from the neighbours,

and thoes that anciently dwelled neer yt, you have another and stranger relation.

They first name them the gyants stones. And they say by an ancient tradition, that a gyant (so men of an extraordinary stature are called, and some such men are seen in every agge,) was there buried, who not only for his large bulke, and length, but for his strength and valour surpassed (by farr) all men of his tyme. And that I spinne not out the thread of this tale at a farder length, how he fell here sodenly down dead, and the cause of his death worth (I can tell you by a good fyre fyde in a winters cold night,) the hearinge, that he was buried in this place. And thes two stones were placed one at his head and the other at his feete; which expressed him to be no pigmye, but of the longest fize; yet not peradventure so large as he whom the noble poet (by a hyperbolical licence) describeth thus :

His legges two pillars, and to fee him goe

He feem'd some steeple reeyling to and fro.
But the wonder was, that albeit the placinge of thes two stones, shewed wher his head and feet lay, yet the true lengthe of his stature, could never be dyrectly knowen. For measure the distanc betweene them as often as you would, yet should you not take yt twice together alyke equall: but at everye severall tyme, ther would be som difference, longer or shorter. What fallacye ther was I cannot conceive, but that report was generall, yea and by such whoes credit was not to be questioned, that eyther themselves had found yt so by tryall, or heard yt by those affirmed, of the truth of whoes relation no doubt or mistrust was to be made. But to call them now to witnesse is needlesse. Yet would I not persuade you to believe more of this, then of other of lyke nature. As mayn Amber stone in Cornwall, yet to be perceived, a huge rock fencibly moving to and fro (as tis verified) by power of a finger: but not to be removed by the strength of many shoulders, as thes verses fay.

Be thou thy mother natures worke Or proof of gyants might, Worthlesse and ragged, though thou shew, Yet art thou worth the fight.

stones so placed as to constitute one monument, I know no instances in Devonshire; though Wormius tells us, that Speed, in his description of Devon, hath mentioned some stones on Exmoor, triangularly disposed. "J. Speed in descriptione Devon. ad Exmore Saxa in Triangulum, alia in orbem erecta (trophaa certe victoriarum quas Romani Saxones, vel Dani obtinuerunt) ac Danicis literis unum inscribi refert."(a) All this is desultory. These stones erect are Roman, Saxon, or Danish: And why not British?—Of an indefinite number of pillars, not in a circular direction, the down in Drewsteignton, near the Cromlech, furnishes us with a striking specimen. Towards the west of the Cromlech, I remarked several conical pillars, about four feet high. On the south side, there are three, standing in a direct line from east to west. The distance from the more western to the middle, was two hundred and twelve paces—from the middle to that on the east, one hundred and fix—just one half of the former; by which it should seem, that an intermediate pillar, at least, had been removed. In a parallel line to the north, are two others remaining erect—the one from the other distant about fifty-two paces, nearly one-fourth of the greatest space on the opposite line. The area between, is ninetythree paces; in the midway of which, at the eastern extremity, stands the Cromlech. And I do not scruple to affert, that this Druid way, beginning on the environs of the Cromlech, was intended to inspire those who were approaching the monument, from Dartmoor, with greater awe and reverence; where, probably, on a folemn anniversary, the Druid priests might have met the attendant people, and commenced the procession.— With respect to columns erected on a circular plan, the number of stones erect are various. The distance of the pillars from each other, is different in different circles, but is the fame, or nearly so, in one and the same circle. The figure of these monuments, is either exactly circular, elliptical, or semicircular. The columnar circles which have occurred to observation in this county, are the following; which I have distinguished either by their situation, or their connexion with other druidical monuments—simple and detached circles on downs or plains-fimple circles on artificial mounts-circles contiguous to each other-circles including kiftvaens-circles enclosed by amphitheatrical heaps or walls of stone. On several parts both of Dartmoor and of Exmoor, there are small circles of stone erect; fimple in their construction, and detached from each other: They are too trivial

> This huger rock on fingers force Apparently will move, But to remove yt many strengths Shall all too feeble prove.

Some years fince, thes stones secretly in the night were undermyned and taken upp: but by whome, and for what cause is not vulgarly knowen, neither is it discovered what was sound under them. Som suppose they made search for treasure conceived there to be hydden; others agayne imagine to seeke out the certeintye, whether ther were any bones ther to be seen as the remaynder of that large corps, yf so thereby to confirme the beliefe (of divers incredulous persons) that there were such tall men in fore-passed agges. As Virgil in the first of his Georgickes says touching the plowinge of Emonian and Emathyan fields.

Scilicet tempus veniet cum finibus illis Agricola incurvo terram molitur aratro Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.

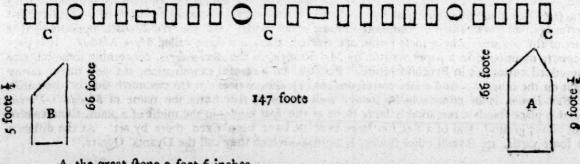
The tyme will come one day, when in that bound The paynfull husband plowing of the ground Shall wonder at the huge bones therin found."(1)

(a) Worm. p. 67.

<sup>(1)</sup> This extract is taken from Westcote's M.S. in the British Museum. To enable my readers to judge of the great difference between the two M.S.S. I shall subjoin the passage that corresponds with the above, from the Portledge M.S. "Then this ryver nameth a Village Kensorde through which it passeth somewhat aboue this village as you descend from the great Hill called Halldowne, stood a long time 2 stones pitched vp at the ends, the neighbours name them Gyants stones, from an antient tradition that a Gyant was there buried, who not only for largeness of body but for valour & strength surpassed (by far) all men living in that age. & how hee fell here suddainly down dead, & the cause of his death: that one of the stones was placed at his jnterment at his head & the other at his seet, which declared him to bee of a large size. but the thing to be wondered at was. That albeit the placing of these 2 stones showed where his head & seet lay, yet his true stature could never be directly known, for measure the distance betwixt them soe often as you would, yet should you neuer take it twice alike equall. some yeares since these stones were secretly in a night digged vp and soe the wonder ceased." Westcote's View, p. 117.

for particular description. In the central part of the Valley of Stones, there are several plain circles, in diameter about forty seet. Risdon says, that on Maddoc's Down, in the parish of Eastdown, there "stand certain stones circularwise, of more than the height of a man." And Westcote notices the curious stones on Exmoor and Maddoc's Down. (a)

(a) "Now you expect & hope for more pleafing objects, & more comfort after these vneven, rockye, tyring, stumbling melancholy wayes: but I cannot promise you presently: I see a spacious course barren & wild object, yeilding little comfort by his rough complexion. haue but a little patience your May shall not bee long, I will shorten the way by guiding you by a direct lyne without ambages, you shall not have a bow of a tree to strike off your hatt, or drop in your neck. It is Exe-moore we are come vnto: the greatest part whereof lyeth in Somersetshire & yeildeth noe mettle, as yet known, onely good fummering for sheep & cattle, & that in good qualitye and quantity, and therefore wee should soon pass it over, were I not to shew you certain stones, supposed as I am informed to bee there erected, some in tryanglewise, other in circle, as Trophes of victories, gotten of (or by) the Romanes, Saxons or Danes, on which are engraven certen Danish or Saxon characters. of some thought to bee there fixed in memory of the great slaughter, at the ouerthrow & death of Hubba the Dane, who having with Hungar his Affociat huryed over all the country from Eglifdon (now St. Edmondsburye) to this Countrye, was here with many other slain Anno 879. And their Banner (which was wrought by the Daughters of King Lothbrook (in english Letherbreech) whereon they reposed noe little confidence for good successe, having been so often displayed fortunately in the Danes partye) taken: And the place euer since called Hubblestow; but for that place wee shall finde it perchance elsewhere neer the mouth of Towridge. Others again suppose them to bee set as markes and guides to direct Passengers: But let ve leave the cause and find those shows which I could neuer as yet, neither can they, that I have purposely employed in quest of them find any such, either in the North-moore, between Horeoke-Rydge and Snabhill; nor southward, from Exa-borrough to Exridge, or in the Middle-Moore westward, betweene the Long Chayne to Rexable and Settacomb, or in the fouth from Dryslade to Vermyball, neither from Wester Emmott to Lyddenmoore, & all the other noted Hills & Combes therein, to name all which, would bee I think somewhat wearisome to you as the Journey to myselfe. for I was vext with a jelous care, to a particular & ferious inquifition of what occurs in reading, taken vp of the writers vpon credit of the Reporters. for I find onely neare Porlock Commons a stone not pitched but lying, which they call Long-stone, but that may breed another question, why it should be soe named being not about 4 soote in length & less in crassitude. Alsoe in the west from Woodborrough towards Rodely-hedd vpon Chollocomb Commons is a plain stone erected, in heyth near 6 foote, and 2 in thicknesse, yet withont any antique engraving. But fomewhat nearer to our purpose doe I find in the parish of East-Downe in the ffarm of Northcott (the seat sometime of a gentleman of that name John Northcott who was Sheriff of this County the 29th yeare of Edw. 3d. and though it bee out now of the name, we shall finde one of his posteritie & of his name his equal in the 2d yeare of King Charles) in a large spacious field inclosed, by the name of Maddock or Maddocks-downe, 4 or 5 miles from the fforrest; certain stones erected in this manner: first there stand two great stones in nature or fashion (though not curiously cutt) of Pyramydes, distant the one from the other 147 soote: the greatest is in height about the ground nine soote and halfe. every square bearing sowr soote: The heighth of the other stone is five foote and a halfe, but in square well nigh equalls, the other being somewhat aboue three foote. These two stones or as may bee said Pillars, stand in a right lyne, one opposite to the other. fixtie fix foote on the fide of these, are layd a row or banck of 23 great vnformed Rones alsoe, but not equalling the other two by much, & reaching from one of these stones to the other in direct lyne and making a reciprocal figure as having the fides equally proportioned but double as long, or more then fquare (which as I am told is called a Parellelogram) but for your better vnderstanding I present them this to your view.



A the great stone 9 foot 6 inches

B the other great stone 5 foot 6 inches

C C C the row of 23 stones.

There is a finall columnar circle, as I have been informed, on Buckland Beacon, in the parish of Buckland in the Moor. Somewhat south of the Druid way or via facra, at Drewsteignton, are two curious circles, contiguous to each other, on the descent of the hill. The first circle is marked by a vallum, which on the outer part declines, and is about four feet high. Though the greater part of the stones which were erected on the top of the mound, are gone, and the stones that remain are deep sunk in the ground;

But on neither of these are there any Characters to be perceived neither are they capable of any such, being impossible (as I suppose) or very difficult to engrave in them; that these should grow soe here by nature I cannot bee persuaded, neither can I as yet by any reading or reason or by any mans else understand or by tradition ghesse, why they should be here erected, but for some victoric there gotten; and the monument of the interment of some famous or eminent personns: but to conjecture by the name of Maddock or Mattock I cannot allude to any authentical historie or person; to thinke upon Madock who in the 23d years of Edw. 1st 1294, raised an Uproar or Rebellion in Wales, from whome the King won the Isle of Anglesey, and after in the 25th years of the said King was taken, drawn and hanged, his rebellion being in Wales and his death in London, were without any congruitie. to fetch it as farr as Madock the 4th sonne of Owen Guineth Prince of Wales, who seeing his 3 Brothers contending for the Gouernment rigged certaine shipps & sought Adventures by sea and was the first (as is supposed with great likelyhood) that discovered the West Indies, & inhabitted itt, giving Bryttish names to divers things Anno 1170. of whom Meredith the sonne of Rhessi (als Ap-hes) who lived sometime after him leaveth this remembrance

Madoc wyf mwyeda wedd Jawn genan, Owen Guenedd Ni finnum dir fyenaid oedd Na da Mawr ondy morodd

Madoc I am the fonne of Owen Guinedd With stature tall, & comely grace adorned Noe store of Landes at home or welth mee please My minde was whole to ferch the Ocean Seas.

I finde noe likelyhood therein, & therefore will leave itt to the scrutiny of him that is better read then my felfe, and foe may leave Ex-moore." Westcote's View (Portledge M.S.) p. 45, 46, 47, 48. On this down and its environs, are a great number of rocks and columnar stones, of various sizes and in various figures. They are thus noticed by a correspondent of Dean Milles: "On Maddoccommon, one stone is of a remarkable size, and one only. It is of a conic figure, not so large at the base, as near its center, occasioned by the sheep rubbing against it. At the center, it measures fifteen feet four inches. The height, about which I could not be so exact, I take to be eleven feet, if not more. In a line parallel to this great stone, from fouth to north, and at the distance of twentyfour paces, lies a trunk of stone, above a foot from the ground, whose diameter is two feet eight inches. About twelve paces distant from this, in a line from west to east, is a stone not a foot above the ground, and about a foot in diameter. Were there another to correspond to the large one, these four would include a space of ground, whose opposite sides would be equal. I counted more than an hundred clusters of stone in different parts. In some places, six, eight, or more are to be feen together, but not remarkable for their height. At one groupe of fix, the eye is particularly engaged. These stand circular-wise, and are the only ones in which the circular figure can be discovered. At the distance of sour paces from this circle, is the trunk of a stone, nearly three feet above the furface, whose diameter measures about three feet. The opinion of the country is, that the first stone I have described being one entire solid stone, was erected by human hands. Concerning these stones, we have two traditions. One is, that there was a battle fought between Biry, or Berry, and Maddoc, two potent lords; and that Maddoc erected these monuments to perpetuate his victory. The other tradition is, that two Lords had a battle on this spot of ground, and that, though the conqueror is forgotten, the name of the vanquished was Maddoc, and that the slain were all buried in a common adjoining to this, hence called *Deadbury* common: Yet I could perceive no sumuli there." Thus writes a Gentleman from Barnstaple, in 1751. Mr. Badcock informs Sir George Yonge, that "of the stones that bear the name of Maddoc, the larger ones still remain; and that the smaller ones may be traced out, though they are almost buried beneath the turf. They are (fays he) undoubtedly, fepulchral: And, I think, they are commemorative of a distinguished personage, who was killed on the spot, in some great battle. On the Welsh coast, opposite to that part of the country, where these stones are erected, there is a stone called Maen Madock. It is particularly mentioned in a paper written by Mr. Strange, in the Archæologia, concerning some hitherto unnoticed curiofities in Brechnochshire. Perhaps, on a careful examination, the one might throw light on the other." And a late correspondent, (1) also, writes: "On the north-side of the parish of East-Down, is an estate which, though now inclosed, still bears the name of Maddoc's-Down. On this place stands a remarkably large stone of the spar kind-in the midst of a plain, about twelve feet above ground, and of a fize too large ever to have been fixed there by art. At the distance of some yards, are several other stones, lying slat—which they call the Gyants' Quoits."

<sup>(1)</sup> Whose satisfactory communications the author hopes, ere long, to have an opportunity of acknowledging, in the larger work.

yet from these relics we can clearly trace out the whole round of the circle. The stones. composing its circumference, were placed at equal distances. The area is quite clear: And the diameter of this circle is ninety-three feet. Contiguous to this, is another circle, nearly of the same size. One vallum, in the point of approximation, serves for both. On Quarnell Down (between Quarnell Torr and Sharper Torr) there are a number of druidical circles. One of these circles encloses a kistvaen, or a stone sepulchral chest. It originally consisted of eleven stones erect; nine of which are standing, and two are fallen. It is of an elliptical figure: And the area of it measures ten feet by eight. In the centre of it, is this kiftvaen; which is a cavity, enclosed by fide-stones pitched on end, measuring in the clear four feet by three, and covered by a capstone. These side-stones are placed at right angles, and have plane surfaces: And the covering-stone is five feet long, four feet wide, and three feet deep .- Within that curious amphitheatre, in the parish of Manaton, called Grimspound, are no less than twenty circles; not one of which exceeds a land-yard in diameter. They all feem to have been formed by stones erect: But in each circle where the pillars are fallen or have disappeared, the circumference is distinctly marked by heaps of small stones. Some of the pillars which lie on the ground, plainly point out their original station, and might easily be replaced. At prefent, there are only two perfect circles; one of which confifts of thirty-five pillars—the other of twenty-seven. In both circles the pillars are placed at equal distances. And there are fix circles (each about twelve feet in diameter) in contact with each other. The wall that encloses these twenty circles, is ninety-fix land-yards round. It was built with rough moorstone, without cement. In several places where it is entire, it is about fix feet in height, and of the fame thickness. But it is, in general, in ruins, and a mere heap of stones. From the east part of this circular mound, to the west, are twenty-two land-yards; and from the north to the fouth, twenty-eight. There is an entrance on the east fide of this amphitheatre, and another on the south-west side of it: And at each entrance, there is an appearance of a flat pavement. The north fide of this wall, which is washed by Grimslake, is the boundary between North-Bovey and Manaton.—As to the uses of the circle, there is no doubt but these monuments, in general, were of religious institution; and designed originally for the rites of worship. The Persians grasped the whole compass of the heavens in the idea of their Jupiter: The Druids worshipped the fame deity in the manner of the Persians: And what could be more expressive of his unconfined essence, than the circular figure? Where could they perform with so much propriety, their adoration to every region of the heavens, as in the midst of the circle? (a) Though these circles are of different fizes, yet they might all have been places of worship: The larger circles might have been defigned for general assemblies; the smaller, for private uses; the large, for facrifices and festal solemnities; the small, for particular intercessions and predictions. (b) And priests and worthies were often interred in the midst of the facred circle. Bones have been frequently found in the kistvaen. The circles within the stone enclosure of Grimspound, are the most remarkable in Devonshire. It is probable, that this spot was one of the principal temples of the Druids. (c) I have, hitherto, noticed plain pillars only: But the Druids had also inscribed pillars. Dr. Borlase is of opinion, that all our inscribed pillars are posterior to the British Period; " because the Druids were averse from committing any thing to writing." But the Doctor is here mistaken: And the error originates in his misapprehension of the following passage in Cæsar: "Nonulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanent: neque sas esse existimant ea literis mandare; quum in reliquis fere publicis privatisque rationibus (e) (Gracis) literis utantur. Cæsar here plainly intimates, that though the Druids forbade their scholars to commit what they learnt to writing, yet that letters were used both on public and private occasions. Cæsar remarks, that this prohibition was, probably, for two reasons—quod neque in vulgus disciplina efferri velint; neque eos qui discunt, literis consisos, minus memoriæ studere." Borlase's inference, therefore, from the passage, is absurd. Many of

(a) The Phenician Hercules, or the Sun, was worshipped in an open temple.
(b) It has appeared, indeed, that circles were often applied to other uses.

<sup>(</sup>c) Of an amphitheatrical mound, similar to that at Piran or St. Just, in Cornwall (which I have described in the second section) Grimspound is the only specimen in Devonshire. Tradition says, that Grimspound was used to enfold cattle, "when the people lived upon the hills, before the vallies were cleansed, and when wild beasts insested the country."

the pillars, which the Druids erected, were, I doubt not, inscribed with their facred characters. The monuments of the Irish Druids are a sufficient evidence of this fact. In Danmonium, however, we have no inscribed pillars, which we can with any degree of confidence attribute to the Druids. The few Danmonian columns with inscriptions, are of a very doubtful nature. But there is a probability that they are very ancient. Several of these monuments, supposed to have been erected in the British Period, are ascribed to the Greeks. Badcock, in his notes on Chapple, mentions a stone near Holyquell, on the borders of Exmoor, on which some large characters were engraved. " I have fearched for this stone, says he, and employed others in the same pursuit. At last I was informed, to my great mortification, that about ten or twelve years fince, it was made the foundation of a little bridge, on the rivulet where it originally stood. The man who erected this bridge, faid, "there were nearly twenty letters on it—that they had an indenting between them, and were not of the common figure; for many persons, who examined them, pronounced them to be *Greek*." A rough moorstone in the parish of Colebrook, is inscribed with unknown characters. Prince tells us, "that this column, which is called Coplesione, is about twelve feet high from the surface of the earth, and twenty inches broad, each square, and that it is an entire stone, roughly carved with various flourishes, which some have taken for old Saxon characters:" And a correspondent writes: "There seems to have been an inscription on this stone: But, at present, the characters are illegible." There is a threshold-stone at Lustleigh church, with an inscription boldly cut. And there is an upright stone, by a smith's shop, near the church-yard of Buckland Monachorum, which is, also, inscribed. It is a large unpolished granite. The inscription runs lengthways. From the top of the stone to the beginning of the inscription, are two feet. From the end of the inscription the stone is fixed in the ground, about fifteen inches broad where the infcription is, and eleven deep.(a) There is now lying in the parish of Yalmton, in the church-yard, a long stone, which grows gradually less towards the upper part; and the bottom part, for near a foot, is left in a very rough state—as if it were intended to be set upright in the earth. This stone meafures, in length, nine feet. It lies east and west; and, being somewhat sunk in the earth by its weight, its thickness does not appear; but it must be from eight inches to a foot thick. On the fide that is uppermost, about the middle of the stone, and lengthways, are some letters strongly cut, which make the word Toreus. One of my correspondents fays: "I should guess the inscription on this stone to be Greek; and I take the word Toreus to be an epithet of Hercules the navigator, from whom is named Hertland Point, or Herculis Promon. near Hertland Abbey. Not that there ever was such a Hercules: But ancient navigators emigrated under the patronage or fanction of that name, as a tutelary faint." There is certainly fuch a word as Topeus in the Greek; but I cannot discover its connexion with the navigator Hercules: Nor does it appear that the epithet of Toreus was ever applied to Hercules. Another gentleman fancies that this word has fome connexion with Torini—a people of ancient Scythia. But these are mere conjectures. There is no doubt but the word Toreus is on the stone: It is so boldly cut, that he who runs may read it. But I should refer this monument to a later period; (b) as well as the stones, perhaps, at Lustleigh and Buckland-Monachorum. They have the fame kind of characters, and are placed in fimilar fituations. With regard to the Exmoor and Colebrook pillars, we have no me snows for conjecture; fince the inscription on the first is inaccessible, and that on the second illegible.

Having concluded my account of the ruder and less shapely stones of the Druids, I proceed to a description of the Cromlech, which has something in its appearance more artificial than even the columnar circle; though consisting, indeed, of rough stones, and sufficiently simple in its construction. According to Borlase, "a Cromlech is a large gibbous stone, nearly in an horizontal position, supported by other flat stones, fixed on their edges and sastened in the ground. The number of the supporters is seldom more than three. The supporters commonly mark out an area about six seet long and four feet wide, in the form of a stone-chest or cell. The Cromlech is either placed on the common level of the ground, or mounted on a barrow, or raised amidst a circle of

<sup>(</sup>a) Dean Milles's M.S.S.

<sup>(</sup>b) The latter end of the Roman-British Period.

pillars. Its fituation is generally on the fummit of a hill."(a) The Cromlech would often assume, perhaps, its proper form, by the mere removal of earth and loose stones from

(a) On Dr. Borlase's definition of a Cromlech, Chapple comments as follows: "A Cromlech, as the Doctor defines it,(1) is "a large flat stone, in a horizontal position (or near it) supported by other flat stones fix'd on their edges, and sasten'd in the ground, on purpose to bear the weight of that stone, which rests upon, and overshadows them, and by reason of its extended surface, and its elevation of fix or eight feet, or more, from the ground, makes the principal figure in this kind of monument." I have already taken notice of the Doctor's observation that the situation generally chosen for them is the very summit of a hill; which however true of those in Cornwall, and perhaps judg d most convenient in others, yet being not so in ours, (but on a gentle descent from the north) could not be always deem'd absolutely necessary. The Doctor further observes, that " sometimes this flat stone, and its supporters, stand upon the plain natural soil, and common level of the ground' (of which ours, at Shiffon in Drewsteignton, is an instance); "but at other times it is mounted on a barrow, made either of stone or earth. It is sometimes placed in the middle of a circle of stoneserect, and when it has a place of that dignity" he thinks it "must be supposed to be erected on some extraordinary occasion;" but that when a circle has a tall stone in the middle, it seems to have been unlawful to remove that middle stone, and therefore we find this monument of which we are speaking sometimes placed in the edge of such a circle." Of this, in a note subjoin'd, the Doctor gives an istance in Boscawen-un, referring to an Icon of it, and thence deducing this confequence, "that the Cromlêh was posterior in date to the circle, and the former erected there for the sake of the latter:" But we shall hereafter suggest some reasons for supposing them coæval; and possibly such as may induce the reader to believe their real uses were very different from those the Doctor affigns for their erection. Not that I imagine all Cromlechs to have had fuch circles of stones, around them or join'd with them, as he there speaks of; for, as he proceeds to observe, some have been found " erected on fuch rocky fituations, and so distant from houses, (where no stones-erect do stand, or appear to have stood,) that we may conclude, they were often crested in places where there are no such circles:" Of this he gives instances; and perhaps other reasons might be given

for their being so, were this a proper place to enter upon the subject.

The Doctor next proceeds to some account of their construction and name; and says, he finds the number of supporters in all the monuments of this kind which he has seen to be no more than THREE: And yet in his plan of Lanyon Cromlech (which feems the most carefully drawn of all the five he has given, and is the only one that has an arrow to indicate its position in respect to the points of the compais), it is shewn to have four: A peculiarity, of which he takes no notice in his verbal description of it, p. 217; where he however remarks its particular position, and informs us of its dimensions as to length, breadth, and girth; as also of his having caused a pit to be dug under its quoit, in search for a supposed grave there. To reconcile him to himself in respect to its number of supporters, I should have imagin'd that which is most to the north west (and which is hidden in the view of it engraved over the plan), did not rife quite so high as the under-surface of the tablestone, so as to give it any support; and indeed, if it be, as he there says, "so high that a man on horseback can stand under it," this in respect to some part of it may not be quite improbable; for it may possibly appear hereaster, that the height of its inner edge need not be above 5 feet 4 inches or a very trifle more, for the purpose for which I guess it was design'd: But then, what follows in the Doctor's description, shews, that the outer edge at least must be at its full height; for this I take to be one of those two principal supporters which he refers us to, as marked A and B in his plan, but these letters are omitted by the engraver in the edition of 1754 which I use. He thinks these two, because they "do not stand at right angles with the front line," as he supposes them to be in other Cromlechs (which I much doubt, and am fure they do not in all), but in an oblique pofition, must therefore have been forced from its original one, and, as he imagines, by the weight of the table-stone, or quoit, as the Cornish call it: But for some reasons, needless to be here assign d, I rather think they still retain their original position; and particularly that the western point of that nearest the center of the plan, is very accurately fix'd to answer the purposes for which it was principally design'd, but for which, a fourth fulcrum in ours at Drews Teignton would have obstructed its application to another use, for which it appears to have been also intended; and there is little reason to think otherwise of the other supporters in that of Lanyon."

"Dr. Borlase's reasons for having (generally at least, for I at present take that of Lanyon to be an exception) no more than three supporters to a Cromlech, as being on several accounts the most convenient; and for preserving unequal to equal ones in respect to their heights and level; tho' just in themselves, in case the general design admitted of an indifference in the choice of either, yet will not here appear to have induced the sabricators either to fix on that number exclusive of all others, or to have them of unequal heights. For though, as he says, such supporters were easier to be found than those of one and the same height; and tho' it be indeed "much easier to place and fix

from the natural rocks. The supporting stones were found in their present position; or, if not, were moved into it, with very little exertion: And the top stone, superimpending from

fecurely any incumbent weight on three supporters than on four or more," as not requiring the nicety of levelling and planning, which he mentions as requisite in the latter case; yet the difficulties attending such nicety, had it been necessary for their purposes, would not have deterr'd the same persons from attempting and carrying it into execution, who, as we shall see, were no less nice and exact in fixing those unequal heights, than in the other dimensions of this structure; the inequality of those heights being not the result of chance, nor wholly of choice; but sound necessary to the

due adjustment of the whole fabrick, and fitting it to answer its end and design.

The Doctor proceeds to take notice of the usual dimensions of Cromlechs, their firmness, and their permanency. "The supporters," he says, "mark out and inclose an area, generally, fix feet long, or somewhat more, and about four feet wide," and adds, "in the form of a stone chest or cell:" But perhaps 'tis very rarely that they can be reduced to that form, even by the aid of fancy; and that they are not already fo form'd, is undeniably evident, there being more than one instance of the contrary; notwithstanding what Wormius, whom he quotes, has said concerning them, and conjectured to have been their original use and design, viz. to receive the blood of the victims there facrificed; in which last he is certainly mistaken, and Dr. Borlase himself has afterwards shewn that it could not have been applied to that use.—" On these supporters rests a very large flat or gibbous stone;" and this indeed is what chiefly distinguishes a Cromlech from other monuments of druidical defign. "In what manner they proceeded to erect these monuments, whether by heaping occasional mounds, or hillocks of earth round the supporters, in order to get the covering stone the easier into its place, or by what engines," the Doctor thinks it in vain to enquire; but what he looks upon as most surprizing is, "that this rude monument of sour or five stones" (so he expresses it, and confequently here admits of some with four supporters, the fifth being the covering stone,) "is so artfully made, and the huge incumbent stone, so geometrically placed, that though these monuments greatly exceed the christian æra (in all probability), yet 'tis very rare to find them give way to time, ftorm, or weight; nay, we find the covering ftone often gone, that is, taken down for building, and yet the supporters still keeping their proper station."—But we cannot suppose those thrifty wife-acres, who fometimes capriciously choose rather to demolish an old structure to supply materials for a new one, than to be at perhaps a less expence in procuring them elsewhere; would-after having been at the labour and charges of removing fo great a weight as the covering flone of a Cromlech generally is,—leave its supporters behind, if not more difficult to be got up than the roof to be taken down: Wherefore the prefervation of these from such dilapidators, can only be accounted for, by the great depth to which they were probably sunk in the earth to prevent such removal. For 'tis observable of some other stones erected by the ancients for unknown purposes, and attempted to be taken up to be applied by the moderns to their own uses, that they have frequently been found funk so deep under-ground as their heights were rais'd above-ground; which has fometimes induced these underminers to desist from their enterprise, and leave them six'd in their places. Of this divers instances might be given where no pressure required so much firmness; and much more might be expected where the stability of an excessive incumbent weight depended on the strength and immobility of its supporters.

I would not be understood, by these, or any future animadversions on Dr. Borlase's account of those druidical monuments, to depreciate his work; or derogate from the veneration and respect due to the memory of an author, to whose researches we are indebted for many curious particulars concerning them, which have contributed more to elucidate the subject than those of any preceding writer. His learned observations and happy conjectures on these and other remains of remote antiquity, doubtless deserv'd the thanks of all persons conversant in such studies; and common candor will acquiesce in the apology he makes in his presace for such impersections as might appear in his work. " Great perfection (as he there fays) cannot be expected, where the fubject is fo obscure, the age so remote, and the materials so dispers'd, few, and rude; where we must range into fuch distant countries for history and examples, and into fo many languages for quotations. -And a little lower; - " In treating of the superstition, and Rock-monuments of the Druids, I may feem too conjectural to those, who will make no allowances for the deficiencies of history, nor be fatisfied with any thing but evident truths; but where there is no certainty to be obtain'd, probabilities must suffice, and conjectures are no faults, but when they are either advanc'd as rea truths, or too copiously pursued, or peremptorily insisted upon as decisive. - In subjects of such distant ages, where history will so often withdraw her taper, conjecture may sometimes strike a new light, and the truths of antiquity be more effectually purfued, than where people will not venture to guess at all. One conjecture may move the veil, another partly remove it, and a third, happier still, borrowing light and strength from what went before, may wholly disclose what we want to know."—— From hence we may conclude, that were he now living, he would, on a nearer view of these truths, of which he was in quest but had only an obscure and distant prospect, from the rocks, was brought down upon those supporters with as little labor or contrivance. There are large masses of rock near Sticklepath, and, indeed, in several parts of the county, which are so grouped as very easily to admit of their being formed into a Cromlech, without calling in the aid of the mechanical powers. (a) With respect to the

be well pleased to have them duly distinguish'd from those extraneous objects with which he had supposed them connected, but to which they on further examination prove to have little or no relation;—to have his well-founded judgement in other matters confirm'd,—and his conjectures corroborated by new proofs, or perhaps fully establish'd as indisputable certainties. --- With such views he professedly writ; and accordingly he tells in p. 216, he has exhibited elevations and plans of Gromlechs in Cornwall, that, as there are some peculiarities in each, they might not only afford some light and confirmation to what he had before advanc'd, but might also "possibly contribute, when in the hands of others, towards a much happier explanation of monuments of this fort, than had as yet appear'd." Chapple's Description and Exegesis of the Drewsleignton Cromlech, p. 33 to 38,

39 to 46.

(a) "By what contrivances (fays Mr. Chapple) fuch an enormous weight was raifed to the above-mention'd height, and, what is more aftonishing, so exactly fix'd, and so nicely accommodate and moreover, with such firmness as to dated to the purposes for which it was originally defign'd, and moreover, with such firmness as to continue for fo many ages in the same position, (for had it been but half an inch out of its proper place, we shall hereaster find, the error would be even now discoverable;)—is, in Dr. Borlase's opinion, in vain to enquire, and indeed can now be only gueffs'd at .- Monsieur Mallet, who, in his Northern Antiquities (1), plainly enough describes the monuments of this sort (tho' not by the British name of Cromlechs) still to be met with in Denmark, &c.; and who mistakes them to be altars for facrifice; expresses his surprize at their supendous magnitude, and the powers and strength required to erect them. His previous account of these, and the stone circles that sometimes surround them, as translated in the English edition, may not improperly be recited here, as it introduces his remarks on their bulk and difficulty of erecting them. "We find (says he) at this day here and there in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, in the middle of a plain, or upon fome little hill, altars" (for fuch he will have them to be), "around which they affembled to offer facrifices, and to affift at other religious ceremonies. The greatest part of these alters are raised upon a little hill, either natural or artificial. Three long pieces of rock set upright" (not strictly so, I presume, in these northern latitudes; nor is their perpendicularity, perhaps, more necessary, whatever equality of their heights might be expected, in fuch parts of Germany or Hungary as are in Lat. 45°.) " ferve for bases to a great flat stone, which forms the table of the altar. There is commonly a pretty large cavity under this altar, which might be intended to receive the blood of the victims." So says this author, adopting the conjecture of Wormius, and drawing inferences from thence relative to the Danish superfitions, as if that conjecture were to be regarded as an undeniable truth; and as if they could be defign'd for no other use but that of altars, and therefore their appendages in all respects subservient to the purposes of facrifice: An opinion, for good reasons rejected by Dr. Borlase, as has been before observ'd. And if the author is mistaken in this, he is probably so also in what follows (and which I take to be only a conjecture grounded on the fandy foundation of the former), viz. that as " they never fail to find stones for striking fire scatter'd around it," so he thinks no other fire but fuch as was struck out with a flint " was pure enough for so holy a purpose."-" Sometimes (adds he) these rural altars are constructed in a more magnificent manner; a double range of enormous stones surround the altar and the little hill on which it is erected. In Zealand we see one of this kind(2) which is formed of stones of a prodigious magnitude. Men would even now be afraid to undertake fuch a work, notwithstanding all the assistance of the mechanic powers which in those times they wanted."—One may here ask, How does this author know they wanted such assistance? Bp. Wilkins indeed in his Mathematical Magic, chap. 11. is much of the same opinion; but it may be question d whether the other advantages he tells us they then had over the moderns, will alone fatisfactorily account for their stupendous works. For, as our author proceeds to remark, "What redoubles the astonishment is, that stones of that size are rarely to be seen throughout the island (viz. of Zealand), and they must have been brought from a very great distance. What labour, time, and sweat then, must have been bestowed upon these vast rude monuments, which are unhappily more durable than the fine arts?" The author then fuggests what he takes to have been the inducement to such great works, taking it for granted they must have been for religious purposes: "Men in all ages(3) (says he) have been persuaded that they could not pay greater honour

(1) Vol. 1, p. 125, &c. (2) P. 126. For this he quotes Ol. Worm. Monum. Danic.

<sup>(3)</sup> It must be remember'd, that the Author is here speaking of past ages only, not of modern times; otherwise he, or his Translator, should have excepted those of the present age, at least among Us, the descendents of his northern religioniss; of whom those who conceit themselves the wifest, are withal so frugally disposed, as to grudge every shilling bestow'd on persons or places dedicated to the service, even of that God, whom alone they pretend to acknowledge as such, but this only on condition that he claims no share of their gold. Chapple.

name of this monument, Dr. Borlase intimates, that Cromlech means "the crooked stone; the upper stone being generally of a convex or swelling surface, and resting in an inclined plane or crooked position." (a) The Cromlech was not peculiar to the Druids. The Cromlechs

to the deity, than by making for him (if I may so express it) a kind of strong bulwarks; in executing prodigies of labour; in confecrating to him immenfe riches." - In another part of his work, (1) M. Mallet, who, as we have feen, supposes (but perhaps without sufficient grounds for fuch a supposition) that the ancients were unacquainted with those mechanical engines by which the moderns are affifted in raifing huge weights, and overcoming the greatest refistance by a very fmall force; -after speaking of the advantages in respect to their health and bodily force, which the northern nations derived from their hardy way of living, and inuring their children thereto, alledges their rupendous works as fo many standing evidences of it.——" The greatest proof (fays he) of their prodigious strength, arises from the rude enormous monuments of architecture which were raifed by these northern people. We have all heard of that monument on Salisbury Plain in England, where we fee a multitude of vaft stones fet up endwife, and ferving as bases to other stones, many of which are in length fixteen feet. Nor are the monuments of this kind less assonishing which we meet with in Iceland, in Westphalia, and particularly in East Friezland, Brunswick, Mecklenburgh, and many parts of the north. The dark ignorance of succeeding ages, not being able to comprehend how fuch stupendous edifices could be constructed by common mortals, have attributed them to dæmons and giants." But altho' the founders of thefe had not, in our Author's opinion, all the affistance we derive from the mechanic powers, yet he thinks " great things might be accomplish'd by men of such mighty force co-operating together. The Americans unaided by the engines we apply to these purposes, have raised up such vast stones in building their temples, as we do not undertake to remove(2). One may however conceive, that patience united with Arength, might by taking time be able to move such vast bodies from one place to another, and afterwards to set them upan-end, by means of artificial banks, down the flops of which they were made to flide;"-and why might not a very ponderous body be as easily drawn up the slope of such an artificial bank? which would allow those ancient architects the knowledge of at least one of our mechanic powers, for as fuch, the inclined plane (tho' not one of the fix) is not improperly esteem'd; and this seems to me, to be most probably the method taken to raise the table-stone of our Cromlech high enough to be properly fix'd on its supporters. These being first firmly fix'd, and the flat heavy stone to be suftain'd by them, being, by means of fuch bank or otherwife, rais'd fo high as to be somewhat elevated above them; and there by the help of some proper machine (for I cannot suppose, with this author, they were utterly deflitute of any), suspended directly over them; might then, by the previous suspension of a plumb-line to each of its angles, and observing where, or how near, those plummets dropt on points before mark'd out on the ground for that purpose, agreeable to the general plan,—be easily so guided as to be let down to its proper position, and so exactly to cover that very fpot of ground, and that only, for which it was intended.—Thus it feems we need not, with our author, wholly ascribe it to the natural tho' united strength of numbers of those hardy northern-men; nor can we conclusively infer from such works of theirs, the superior size and strength of the first inhabitants of the earth, compared with that of our debilitated moderns; tho' he thinks it without dispute, that it is from such proofs of it " that ancient history has generally painted them as giants." There may be indeed fome difference in these respects between the ancients and moderns; but how far this author's attempt to account for it, by the greater cold of the atmosphere in Europe formerly than now; the continual exercises of our manly ancestors; their avoiding a too early commerce with females, their simple diet, &c. may be deem'd fatisfactory, it is not our business here to enquire; having already cited from him, perhaps more than fufficient, as to their management of enormous weights, in the erection of permanent monuments, whether of their skill or their strength, or both." Chapple's Descript. p. 54 to 63.

(a) Name of the Cromlech.—" Before we proceed to any disquisitions concerning its primary use, or more particularly recite the opinions of others concerning it, it was proposed to make some enquiry into the origin of its most usual name; tho' this perhaps will not, like the ancient British and Saxon names of most places, appear either to express any material circumstance relative to it, or afford any light into its original design. For its British name, Cromlech,—which the Cornish somewhat vary in its spelling and pronunciation, by only accenting the latter syllable and adding the aspirate b instead of cb; but for which the Irish, perhaps more agreeably to the old Celvic, have Cromliach,—signifies

<sup>(1)</sup> P. 337, &c. of the fame Volume

<sup>(2)</sup> The Translator here quotes Acosta's History of the Indies, for an instance of "a stone in a fortress of the Inca's at Cusco, 38 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 6 feet thick."—On which we may here remark, that this stone, enormous as it is, little, if at all, exceeds the bulk of some stones in the Ægyptian Pyramids:—And yet Herodotus informs us of a simple method, by which they were raised to great heights, "with machines constructed of short timbers;" a method well explained by Governor Pownall in the Possscript to his Description of a sepulchral Monument at New Grange in Ireland. Archaeologia, vol. 2. p. 272—275.

in these languages, as well as in their Armoric dialect, nothing more than a curved or crooked flone; doubtless from the gibbosity of the upper surface of its table stone, unless we would derive it, with Mr. 6 Halloran, (1) from the old Irifb deity, Crom, by whom he fays was meant Jupiter; of which more farther on.—This, fays Dr. Borlase(2) (but with its Cornish orthography), is the general name by which these structures are commonly known among the learned; but observes, that "from its oblate and spreading form (resembling a Discus)" it is also, both in Wales and Cornwall, called a quoit; and "in the Isle of Ferset (where there are many) they are call'd Pouqueleys," perhaps rather Ponts-levees and so call'd as if they were raised bridges, but Q?—All these appellations being only expressive of their general form, and having no relation to their use, were probably not adopted till after the original purpose, for which those structures will hereafter appear to have been erected, was forgotten; when they were look'd upon, either as the ordinary productions of nature, the with a somewhat romantic appearance, or the rude efforts of ancient art, for purposes unknown, and not easily to be guess'd at.—It should here be further noted concerning this its modern British name, that the cb with which it terminates is to be pronounc'd like the Greek  $\chi$ ; not like our cb in the word fuch, but as in the words character, chronicle, &c. like an asperated k, as if it were written Cromlekb; for which reason Dr. Borlase, with the Cornish, omits the c, and, to denote the want of it, circumflexes the e; and fo, having given directions how to pronounce it, every-where fpells it Crombb: But with this previous caution concerning its pronunciation, it is here thought more eligible to retain the British orthography.—Were we to suppose Cromlech, or Cromliach the most ancient name, and that, according to the opinion of fome writers, it was meant for a temple of the Druids, or used for the purposes of that ancient idolatry which might be supposed to be introduced by the Phanicians when they traded here for tin, we might indulge ourselves in conjectures, in fetching its etymology from the Hebrew, or its Phanician dialect: In which case, I should have imagined it might be derived from Chir rabbam luch, the table of the tripod of thunder(3); or rather from Chir robbem melech, the tripod of the thundering king. For, that Jupiter was worshipped by the Phanicians, and by them, as well as other nations, imagined to have the command and direction of the thunder-bolts, with which they supposed him arm'd, cannot be doubted. We find Jupiter the son of Neptune taken notice of by ancient writers as a god of the Sidonians; (and if fo, doubtlefs of their colonists the Tyrians, and the other Phænicians connected with, or descended from them;) distinguish'd, indeed, by the adjunct or furname of Maritimus, because they were wholly addicted to navigation: And even their god Bal, Belus, or the fun, (who feems to have been their principal deity,) was, according to Eufebius, call'd Jupiter by the Greeks; as was also Dagon the god of Azotus or Alphood by the hufbandmen." (4)—But whatever worship the Pbænicians gave this thundering King of the Gods, we are affured by Caefar(5) that he was adore a principal of Gaul, and of course by those of Britain, and the people who in matters of religion were under their government and direction. But the there is the policy that the principal protection of the functions, efteem'd him (Imperium cælestium tenere) to be the supreme or chief among the gods themselves, yet they paid the greatest honours to Mercury. To him, says Cæsar, they erected many images; esteem'd him the inventor of arts, the conductor of travellers, and the principal protector of merchants and mercantile acquisitions. But next to Mercury (whom they feem to have peculiarly regarded as their tutelar deity), they had a more particular veneration for Apollo, or the Sun, the original object of idolatry; (perhaps because he was the principal deity of the Phanicians, with whom they traded;) ascribing to him the cure of their diseases; and even preferring him to Mars, who otherwise, as the god of war, stood higher in their esteem than either Jupiter or Minerva. From this their veneration for Apollo, I had at first imagin'd, that the position of the Cromlech we are here to examine, might have some respect to the sun rising; the worship of the rifing fun having been by some of his votaries deem'd a mark of the highest reverence to him: And to be fatisfied of this, I was very defirous to afcertain its bearing, with respect to the points of the compass; which after I had carefully observ'd and determin'd, was soon convinc'd that its position no otherwise respected either the rising or setting sun, than as subservient to gnomonical or aftronomical purposes. And being, from this and other observations to be mention'd hereafter, well affured, that the *Cromlech* itself at least, could not have been design'd as a temple either of the sun, or of Jupiter; or indeed of any other of the heathen gods; I presumed we might as well acquiesce in the British derivation beforementioned, which supposes its name given it from its form and composition, not from its use; and that therefore little or no regard could be due to an etymology, which supposed it the original name, and to have been introduced by the Phanicians or others who spoke a dialect of the Hebrew; and this too, expressive of a use, for which it was now manifest it could not have been primarily intended. - It may however be alledg'd, that the' the Cromlech itself were not intended either as a temple or an altar, yet if it were erected near a college of the Druids, or any Druidical Court of Judicature, as this at Drews Teignton has been (in p. 7 of

<sup>(1)</sup> Intr. to Irish Antiq. p. 34. (2) See his Antiq. of Cornw. p. 211, 212, and the Note on the latter.
(3) Chir signifies a tripod or brandiron to set a pot or cauldron on, as well as that for the layer or washing bason of the sacrificing priess: And Luch a smooth table, whether a plank or slab of slone, for any purpose, particularly to write or engrave on. (4) Vide Danet in Jupiter.

this tract) conjectur'd to have been, which would occasion at least an annual concourse of people near this spot; it might then be customary to have altars, and to offer sacrifices, near to, or in view of the Cromlech: And as the sun and planets were objects of their idolatrous worship, at least as name-fakes or representatives of their gods, its astronomical use might induce them to choose such a place for it, rather than another; and then the Cromlechs near which fuch religious worship was wont to be perform'd (tho' not used as altars or temples for that purpose) might take their denomination, amongst the vulgar at least, from the god or gods there principally adored; in which case, the prefumed etymology beforemention'd may not be wholly inadmiffible.——'Tis granted, this might possibly have been the case; but even then the etymology will require some farther explanation, to render it consistent with the notions of others on this subject, or to correct them where inconsistent therewith. On this supposition indeed (for it is only here to be regarded as such), we might partly admit of the conjecture of Mr. & Halloran(1); who, taking Crom to mean Jupiter, as derived from Cruim the obsolete Irish for thunder, would have Crom-lia to mean the altar of Jupiter. However, tho' we should allow the pretensions of Jupiter to it, we can by no means admit of its being an altar, as he takes for granted it was, and that, without producing any reason for its being fo; all he alledges, tending only to prove, that the stones, which he calls altars, and supposes the Druids to have facrificed on them, had fome relation to Crom; who, he fays, was the fame as Cean-Croithi, the chief deity of the Irifb. But as to the fignification of Crom, as he would have Druidism to be an Irish institution, and of course takes the word to be of Irish derivation; and finding this Cean Croitbi by the Irifb writers fometimes call'd Crom-Cruadb, he from thence, and the Irifb word for thunder abovemention'd, forms the word Crom-lia; by which name, he fays, the Lia-fail or stone of destiny, on which their ancient monarchs were crown'd, was also call'd; and which he interprets, the alter of Crom, but which feems only to imply the stone of Crom, or the Thunder-stone, without indicating its use; and might as well be taken for a whetstone, for the use of the Crumthear or Flamen in sharpening the edge of his Secespita. Had it occurr'd to Mr. 6 Halloran, that Crom might be, as above supposed, only an abbreviation of Chir rabbam, the Tripod of Thunder, and confequently not Irifb, but Hebrew or Phænician, he needed only to have added to it the Irish word Lia, which was probably derived from Luch, a table or flab of stone, to compose the word Crom-lia, which might be render'd, the Table Stone of the Tripod of Thunder, or, by metonymy, of the Thunderer: And this supposition, that the word Crom is here a compound of two others, which have no relation to curvature or bending down, would not have needed his derivation of the Celtic word Crown or Crom, which has that fignification, from any supposed custom of beaving at the name of Crom, in the worthip of the Irish Jupiter. (2)--Perhaps also, he and Harris, against whom he alledges that the fun was not understood by that name as he had supposed, but was in Ireland, worthipp'd under another, viz. that of Beal,-might also be partly reconciled by examining into the origin of the latter; on which it would appear, that there is not always fo great a difference between the fignifications of the names given to Jupiter and the fun as objects of heathen worship, as some may imagine. For, we can scarce doubt but that Beal came from Baal or Ball, a lord or powerful ruler; which the Chaldeans contracted to Bel, and the Phænicians to Bal: And tho the Affyrians are said to have worship'd the sun by the name of Bel, the sun being in their language so call'd, but was also probably meant to represent Belus the son of Nimrod; yet that Jupiter was more generally worship'd by that name than the sun, is sufficiently evident from what Selden and others have collected, from the facred scriptures and the writings of the antients, on that subject. (3) That learned author doubts not but that Jupiter originally meant the true God, and that the name was derived, not à juvando, as Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Lastantius and others have supposed, but from the sacred Tetragrammaton whence the Greeks had their Ias Iaw Ievw, Jova; and thence (as the principal gods had the common title of Pater annex'd to their names, in the folemn prayers and facrifices to them) Jovis became Jovispater, Jovispiter,

(1) Introd. to the Antiq. of Ireland, p. 34 & 35.

<sup>(2)</sup> On communicating this to an intelligent Jewish Rabbi (who happen'd to call on me whilst writing it), and mentioning to him, inter alia, the human facrifices of the Druids, he imagined the word Cromliach might mean a place for the worship of Moloch, and might therefore be rather form'd from Chorehh Molock (from the root Charahh, to bend, bow or kneel down, and the word Makom Locus, understood), a place for the bending to, or worship of Moloch: A god of the Ammonites, &c. who, 'tis well known, was supposed to have required such horrid offerings; and to whom children were factificed much in the same manner as Cæsar describes the facrifices of men by the Druids of Gaul to their gods, viz. by putting them into large hollow images, and fetting fire to them: But Tertullian (in his Apologetic, c. 9.) having mention'd the facrifices of children to Saturn, adds, Major ætas apud Gallos Mercurio profesatur: With the Gauls a grown man is cut to pieces as a facrifice to Mercury. Cicero also (in Orat. pro M. Fonteio) takes notice of the cruel and barbarous human facrifices of the Gauls, but mentions not in what manner they were offer'd: Quis enim ignorat eos [scil. Gallos] usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram confuetudinem hominum immolandorum? The Carthaginians also offer'd the like facrifices to Saturn. See Selden de Diis Syris, Syntagma 1. c. 6 .-- Moloch fignifies a king, (being only diftinguish'd from it by the points) and has been generally taken to mean the fun, as the prince or chief of the heavenly luminaries. but fometimes for Jupiter, &c. If the Druids offer'd fuch facrifices here, it was most probably to Mercury, but it may be question'd whether they ever gave him the name of Moloch, and if not, the last-mentioned etymology can have little probability. Chapple.
(3) V. Selden de Diis Syris, Syntagma 2. c, 1.

and at length Jupiter. Hence in like manner, the Marspater or Marspiter of Cato, for Mars; and so of the rest. That Baal, Beel, or Bel, tho' at first meant as one almighty ruler, whose perfections the heathens attributed to their Jupiter, yet these being afterwards transferr'd to a multiplicity of idols (however still regarding Jupiter as the principal and all-powerful God), the same author tells us, became a collective name for them all. But this perhaps most properly in its plural Baalim:(1) And that this fometimes meant all the host of heaven, i. c. the sun, moon and stars, to which Manaffes is said to have built altars in the courts of the temple, (2) his worship of Baalim being just before mention'd, feems very probable; but it is fometimes taken for the heavens themselves, and Selden supposes it should be so understood here. The Phanicians indeed appear to have worship'd the fun by this name in the fingular, with the addition of Samen, calling him Baal Samen, the lord, or ruler of the beavens: So St. Augustine, (who understood Punic) interprets it Samen, being the same as the Shamaim of the Hebrews. And this is expressly afferted by Sanchoniathon (as translated by Philo Biblius and preferv'd by Eusebius); speaking of ("Hhto) the sun, "This god, says he, they esteemed to be the only lord of beaven, calling him Beel-samen, which in the Phanician language is lord of beaven, and to the same purport with the Greek Zevs (3)." So also the Bal, Bel, or Belus of the Tyrians or Phenicians, as render'd into Greek by Menander (in Josephus) from the Phenician annals, is taken for Zeus the well-known name of Jupiter: For speaking of a golden column preserv'd in his temple at Tyre, he mentions it as Ev Tois TE dios. (4) But Hefychius distinguishes them by their genders, and fays, Belus meant the beavens, or Jupiter; and that the sun was called Bela (a feminine name).(5) And we find in Herodian, that the people of Aquileia gave Apollo, or the sun, the name of Beles. (6) In short, the name seems not to have been strictly confined to any one of the gods; for the' the Affyrians, as above observ'd, meant the fun by their Bel, and the' this name is thought to be first introduced by them, yet even they also worship'd Mars, the god of war, by the name of Belus. — From all this, we learn, that both Jupiter and the Sun (and not only these, but other of the heathen gods,) have been worship'd under the name of Baal or Beel, Bel and Belus; and in like manner Beal, by which Mr. ô Halloran fays (7) the old Irifb adored the fun, might have the like collective fignification, and their Crom included with the reft; and tho' more properly, perhaps, taken for Jupiter, to whom the superior power was ascribed, might be sometimes confounded with them. Or perhaps, both he and the fun, confider'd as diffinet deities, might have facrifices offer'd them, as well as Mercury or any of the rest, at or near the same Cromlech; I will not say upon it, as an altar; for, were we not otherwife affured it was not defign'd for fuch a purpose, its being manifeftly inconvenient for the facrificing either men or beafts upon it, would forbid us to suppose it. The general height of fuch Cromlechs (of which some will admit the tallest man to walk under them without rubbing his head against the ceiling, and others, a man on horseback to shelter himself from a shower under their coverture, of which an instance has been already mentioned) would not allow the priest to officiate at one of them standing by its side, nor could any large beast be easily listed up upon it without some machine for that purpose; so that we must rather suppose men, if any victims at all were offered upon it, and the whole business perform'd on the top of it. Among the wretches fet apart for this immolation, thieves, robbers, and other offenders (according to Cafar)(8) were deem'd the most acceptable to the gods; but in case rogues were wanting, the innocent were obliged to fupply their places: And being the offerings of the public, and mostly in times of public danger, may be suppos'd to have been offer'd in the most public and conspicuous places, and on such an elevated altar as a Cromlech (if it were such) rather than another: That they were mounted on its table-stone like a condemn'd nobleman in our times on a scaffold; but ascending to it by a ladder, like common criminals to a gibbet, together with the flamen or priest, who was to do the double duty of confessor and executioner. But the difficulty of getting upon it might be thus overcome, yet, as Dr. Borlase observes, (9) it would be much less easy to kindle a fire there, sufficient to consume the victim. This, with the gibbosity and slope of the upper surfaces of most if not all Cromlechs, and the want of proper footing to stand easily and safely on them, or room to

(1) See Jerem. 2. 23, 28.—Hofea 2. 13. and 11. 2. &c. (2) 2 Kings 21. 5. 2 Chron. 33. 3- 5.

(6) Βέλιν δὲ καλεσι τετον, εέβεσί τε ὑπες Φυως, Απόλλωνα είναι εθέλοντες. Belem vocant indigenæ, magnaque eum religione colunt, Apollinem interpretantes. Herodian, Lib. 8, p. 376, 377. Edit. Sartorii Ingol stad. 1693. Chapple.

(8) De Bello Gallico, Lib. 6. (9) Antiq. Cornw. p. 213.

 <sup>(3)</sup> His words are, " Τέτον — Θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον ἐςανε κύςιον Βεελσάμην καλεντες, ὁ ἐςι παςὰ Φοίνιξι κύςι ἐκανες, Τεὺς πας Ελλησι." Philo apud Eufeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. c. 10. Chapple.
 (4) Joseph. contra Apionem Lib. 1.
 (5) See Danet on Belus.

<sup>(7)</sup> Mr. o Halloran (whose disquishions on this subject I am far from being inclinable to censure, but would rather endeavour to elucidate) will excuse the freedom here taken, in pointing out, what now appear to be his mistakes, but to some of which I should have readily subscribed, 'till I had the strongest conviction of their being such. Such mistakes are unavoidable, where the subject is so obscure; and as I cannot expect to keep wholly free from them (tho' the construction of our Cromlech may prevent many to which I might be otherwise liable,) I should be glad to be set tight in any that may be discover'd in what is here submitted to public censure. Chapple.

perform the requifite ceremonies, even supposing them quite plain, and also free from any hazard of that disruption to which some forts of moor-stone (of which ours, and those in Cornwall consist) are liable, from the force of an intense fire(1); and moreover the danger of the officiating flamen, in fuch a case, to be roasted himself, by the same fire he had prepared for the miserable victims, before he could compleat the horrid and diabolical facrifice; -are fo many irrefragable proofs of the absolute unfitness of a Cromlech for any fuch Use. But arguments, deduced from the unfitness of Cromlechs for altars, might be spared, as needless for the conviction of any who reslect on Julius Casar's positive testimony, that these human facrifices were perform'd in a very different manner; viz. that the Druids, to whose care the persons devoted to this mactation were committed, put them alive into huge hollow images, bound about with offers (or perhaps fometimes with twifts of hay, as Strabo feems to hint), and then by fetting fire to them, the men within were fcorch'd to death by the furrounding flames. He doth not add, that they were cut into fleaks, or laid upon altars after being thus buccaneer'd, as an improvement in prieftly cookery for a yet unfatisfied deity; nor is it likely they were fo: For Strabo(2), who describing the sacrifices in Gaul, at which the Druids were always prefent, who derived their customs and discipline from those in Britain, after mentioning their auguries, and their divers methods of previously preparing and securing the victims to be immolated, (viz. by thrusting darts through some, fastening others to crosses, others to blocks of wood, and inclosing others in such a colossal fabrick as beforemention'd;) adds, that cattle and all forts of beafts, and men, we e then all burnt together. (3)--Before we difmiss this subject, it may be requifite to remark, that the etymology before given is liable to be objected to, as suppoting all Cromlechs to be Tripods, whereas fome have four supporters. But this objection (unftrengthened by others) is of no moment. 'Tis enough that the supporters are generally but three; and as the word Chir in itself has no affinity to the number three more than to any other, we

(1) That the Moor-flone of which our Drews-Teignton Cromlech is composed, will not result the force of a fervent fire, I had, fince the above was written, the unexpected opportunity of an ocular and palpable demonstration. For the present tenant of Shillton having made it a receptacle for ferns and surze, intended to be burnt and the ashes to be applied in manuring the farm, had some time before my last visit to it (16 Feb. 1779), burnt the whole under the table-stone of the Cromlech itself; and (as I was inform'd) kept the hot ashes there for 2 or 3 days, till they could be conveniently carried off for his purposes. In consequence of this, so much of the under part of the stone as had been thus heated and smoak'd, and which was easily distinguish'd by its blackness, would admit of my pulling off large scales from it with my singers only (of which scales I brought home one, near a foot in length, 6 inches broad, and about an inch thick): Whereas the unburnt parts of the Cromlech retain'd their usual firmness. The effect of the fire on it, some intelligent people there, attributed to the black Tin-Spar, with which this, and the other Moor-stone in that neighbourhood, abounds; and which, they said, had from the force of the fire been expanded, and suffer'd some degree of suson. This seems not improbable, but must be submitted to the judgment of those who are more conversant in such matters. They however assured me, that some kinds of Moor-stone, which are free from this black spar, will stand the siercest sire unburn.—The farmer, who meant not any hurt to the Cromlech by burning his ferns there, has been prohibited by his landlord from doing the like for the source; and he being now aware how liable it is to be damaged by such fires, and no less inclinable to preserve it, 'tis hoped it is now free from all surther danger from his good husbandry. Chapple.

(2) Lib. 4. prope since in the surface of the surface in the surface i

thoped it is now free from all further danger from his good husbandry. Chapple. (2) Lib. 4. prope finem.

(3) How happy! that the introduction of christianity into this island, freed us and our children from such horrible rites! and from all danger of their future re-establishment. For, at present, we have no cause to dread a relapse into ancient superstition, but rather the rejection of real religion as such. We still indeed call ourselves christians, yet many among us contemn the memory of those from whom we receiv'd christianity: Nay some, who will readily acknowledge the benefits derived to us from it, and the gratitude due to its divine author; and who are zealous in commemorating national deliverances, (tho' perhaps on a wrong day) yet, on pretence of abuses and uncertain chronology, neglect or refuse to celebrate even the nativity of him, whose benefits extended to the world at large, and who came to destroy (among others) those works of the devil above described: Who by the facrifice of himself, superfeded and rendered all other bloody facrifices fuperfluous; his most perfect law of true liberty (undepraved by licentiousness,) requiring none but that pure Mincha, or unbloody facrifice which was offer'd by the primitive patriarchs; with an euchariflic commemoration of his dying love; a Redfast belief of his divine mission, and the truths he revealed; a renunciation of vice; and our best endeavours (with the affifting grace of the holy (pirit) to perform the conditions on which he purchas'd our pardon. A dispensation, that regulates our felfish passions, improves our morals, and extends our social connections, by making the love of ourselves the measure of our duty to others; and intitling even our enemies to our forgiveness, our prayers, our charity, and our pity: Binding us by a baptismal covenant, not to any slavish subjection to insupportable burdens, but to such a reasonable service, as conduces to augment our happiness here, and to insure it hereafter: Inviting us by his own example, to a chearful obedience, a firm trust, a reverential respect mix'd with filial love, and a ready resignation to the divine will: In short, engaging us in, and inciting us to, a religious observation of the duties comprized in the angelic hymn on his incarnation; viz. to give glory and divine honour to the most high GOD, to whom alone it is due; to cultivate and promote private friendship and public peace; and, to the best of our power, to enlarge our affections and extend our liberality, by a boundless benefi--Such are the out-lines of the christian scheme; and such the easy yoke and light cence, and universal benevolence.burden which our Lord has imposed upon us, in lieu of the diabolical rites and abominable superstitions of our pagan ancestors. And as this occasional retrospect to their barbarous butcheries, and their shocking immolations, both of men and beafts, by roasting them alive, after the augurs had tortur'd them by the requisite stabbings or slashes to inspect their blood and their entrails, -naturally and almost unavoidably prompts us to reflections like these, on so happy a change; the candid reader will therefore excuse a few biblical phrases, which some may ridicule as the cant of a lay-man turn'd lecturer. But however deem'd impertinent in a treatise of this sort, as digressive from its main design, and tho' the writer hereof has no better opinion of theological than medical empiricism, yet an exhibition of the contrast between paganism and christianity, whenever either of them claims notice, whether professedly or incidentally, cannot be wholly unseason-Chapple.

Cromlechs of Danmonium, however, from their fituation at least, may be fafely admitted as druidical. (a) Though in the western part of Danmonium, there occur several Cromlechs

cannot be fure it was never applied to denote any quadrupedal stand, as well as the tripedal one for which we find it used. Mr. & Halloran makes the like objection to the derivation of Cromlech from the crookedness of its table-stone; for we find, says he, "many of these covering-stones quite flat, which destroys the very principles of this derivation:" He does not say where such are to be met with: - Indeed Kit's Cot-House in Kent is so represented (how truly I know not) in the plate facing page 116 of the 2d volume of the Archaelogia; otherwise I should have thought it very doubtful whether there were any fuch in England, Ireland, or any where else but in the latitude of 45°. If fuch there really are in other latitudes, they must be, in one remarkable instance, of a different construction from ours at Drews-Teignton, and from that of Lanyon in Cornwall. But supposing there be some quite flat, either in *Ireland* or *Kent*, yet if they are generally otherwise, in their upper surface, this is enough to justify the derivation.—After all, it seems unlikely that *Cromlech* was the original name; it being much more probable that the ancient *Druids* gave it some name expressive of its use and design: And tho' tis possible this of Crosset might also be afterwards given it, in reference to the deity or deities to whom public facrifices were offer'd near it (for it is not denied that fuch religious worship might be there perform'd, for the reasons before given); yet it seems to me the most probable conjecture of the two, that it took this subsequent name (for such I imagine it to be) from the form of its covering stone, as was at first supposed; without any regard to such facrifices, and possibly after they were discontinued .- It may here be ask'd, - Why then this tedious comment on another etymology, which must be rejected at last, or at best represented as dubious? The answer is,-To prevent a more diffusive recital hereafter, of the opinions of others relative to the use of such monuments; which were proposed to be examin'd into, but which the foregoing references to them have partly precluded: And also to shew how little, etymologies are to be depended on, for the establishment of any hypothesis that wants other evidence to support it." Chapple's

Description, p. 72 to 97.

(a) Having particularly examin'd the weight of the covering stone of our Drews-Teignton-Cromlech, and perhaps been rather too tedious in our enquiries by what strength or contrivances such structures were probably rais'd, it may not be impertinent to our subject to add a few words concerning the people to whose industry and art they are to be ascribed (for whatever purpose erected), and the permanency and preservation of such monuments in general; of which many yet remain, not only in the western parts of England, in Ireland, and the British isles, but also (as observ'd by Dr. Borlase(1), M. Mallet above quoted, and others) in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, France, Germany, and in the Is of the Mediterranean sea adjacent to the coasts of Spain and France; as also in the Isle of Jersey, &c. Hence Dr. Borlase concludes, they were probably "Celtic monuments, and with that numerous people carried into all their settlements:" Not peculiar to the Druids, tho' there can be no doubt that the Druids among others erected monuments of this kind: And that ours were of their erection (for the christians never erected any such, and the Danes never had footing in places where fome of them are still to be met with), the Doctor seems to have undeniably proved.—The roughness and apparent deformity of their unpolish'd supporters; the gibbosity and seeming disproportion of their prominent unornamented chapiters; the general simplicity of their construction; yet the grandeur, the firmness and strength of the fabrick; tho' at first view it may seem the production of a people just emerged from barbarity and beginning to cultivate the arts, yet on a closer inspection exhibits the strongest evidence, that they could design boldly, and execute effectually. Composed of few, but those the most solid and durable materials; sustain'd by strong pillars deeply and immoveably fix'd in their foundations; and the Abacus that crowns the whole, by its magnitude and weight little less secured from subversion, either by accident or external force, than the Fulcra that support it;—these structures, like the pyramids of Ægypt, have out-lasted the memory of their founders; and still remain objects of the admiration of common spectators, subjects of speculation for the curious, and filent witnesses of the hitherto disputable claims of hypothetic antiquarians.(2) Chapple's Description, p. 63 to 66.

(1) Antiq. of Cornw. p. 212.

<sup>(2)</sup> Nothing is here meant with a view to censure or ridicule the laudable researches of those who have heretofore labour'd on this subject; and endeavour'd, tho' perhaps unsuccessfully, to account for the origin of such structures, from the best lights that ancient history could afford them, in a matter which time had inveloped in so much obscurity; as if we would wholly reprobate every ingenious hypothesis that might be framed to elucidate it, and were disposed (whilst we avail ourfelves of their labours) to blame them for every deviation from the rectitude of a path, where there remain'd scarce any visible tract to direct their foot-steps. Even those hypotheses which have only mere fiction or surmise for their basis, may tend to the discovery of truth; if only by exciting some critical opponent to detect their errors, or point out their absurdaties; much more fo, those, which are partly founded on facts, observations and experiments, but not on a sufficient number of them to afcertain every-thing they are produced to prove, as is the cafe with fome alluded to here. The great Roger Bacon (that blazing comet which, in a very dark age, affrighted the ignorant, and fill'd them with the dread of his magic and inchantment,) was certainly in the right, when he affirm'd, that the moon's vicinity to the earth gave her a greater influence on

Cromlechs (for a description of which I refer my readers to the Antiquities of Cornwall) yet, on this fide of the Tamar, in a far more extensive tract of country, we have only to exhibit one folitary Cromlech. It is true, there are other places in Devonshire that have laid claim to this distinction: But the claim has been allowed only by those who, having an indistinct idea of druidical monuments, conceive Cromlech to be a general name for them all. On a down, in the parish of Shaugh, commonly called Shaughmoor, there is, doubtless, some resemblance of a Cromlech. Many represented it as really a Cromlech: Others thought it nothing more than the rude natural rock. Curiofity, however, lately induced a gentleman to go to Shaugh-moor, purposely to look at this rock: And he returned, "perfectly convinced that it was a Cromlech; and of the most durable kind, the top-stone being supported on natural rocks. The covering-stone was about fifteen teet long, and twelve feet broad." And this monument, it seems, was "on the side of the bill." This account requires little or no comment. The gentleman who pronounces these rocks to be a Cromlech, discovers nothing that has the least appearance of art, excepting in the position of the top-stone. But the position of this ftone, is furely accidental. It might eafily have fallen from the hill above, on the rocks that support it. And, as to the situation of this imaginary Cromlech, the side of a hill is not the usual place for erecting such a monument. (a) The only Cromlech in this county (which is indiffutably fuch) is fituated in (b) Drewfleignton (the town of the Druids upon

(a) In the neighbourhood of these rocks, however, there are several druidical circles.

(b) " Drewfleignton has been by Risdon, Westcot, Prince, and others, imagined to derive the prefix to its name, by which it is distinguished from other Teingtons or towns on or near the river Teign, from Drogo de Teign, who flourished in the reigns of Henry II, and Richard I, and from whom the Drewes, a noted family in this county, have been supposed to be descended."

"But as we find it call'd Teign-Dru or Drues-Teignton in some ancient records, it seems to me most probable it was thus distinguished, as having been, before the Roman conquest, the residence of a principal Druin: For, that some considerable one govern'd here, and had great numbers under his command, may fairly be inferr'd from the stupendous monument of their labour and skill, of which we are here to give an account; and which having for ages refifted the ravages of devouring time, still remains a standing testimony of the industry and consummate ingenuity of those who erected it. From a tradition of such residence of a chief Druid, or perhaps some college or community of them here, the Britons of those times might denominate it Derwyddon Caer-Tegn or eu Caer ar Tegn, the town of the Druids on the Teign. That its present name was form'd from Druids Teignton, with the omiffion of the fecond d, has been the opinion of most persons who have seen its Cromlech, and judged it to be a druidical structure, tho' uncertain for what purposes it was erected. - Hence also Drewfon, the name of a farm there, had probably its origin; having been perhaps once the feat of some Druid or Druid. And the like may be observ'd of another Drewston, situated in the adjoining parish of Chagford, but on the other side of the Teign. If it be objected against our supposed British name of Drew's Teignton, that the word Caer or Cair was by the Britons applied only to fortified places, and old camps and intrenchments; for which reason the Saxons generally turned it into Ceaster, and whence our present terminations of Cester and Chester in the names of many such places, but being not fo here, it may well be deem'd doubtful whether the Britons prefix'd their Caer to this name any more than the Saxons added to it their fuffix of Chefter: It is acknowledg'd that the Saxons most commonly turn'd the British CAER into Cester or Chester, but this not without some exceptions, and in the Aemoric dialect it is used for any common town or village. But supposing it restricted to fortifications

the tides, and operated more strongly on the ocean, than the fun or stars, tho much exceeding her in magnitude, but withal at a much farther distance; and that her action on the sea was the greatest, when her rays most nearly approach'd to right angles with its surface. See his Opus majus, Distinct. 4, cap. 5. p. 85 and 86 of Jebb's Edit. 1733. For which reason he elsewhere (as I remember, tho' I cannot now turn to the place) modestly queries, whether there might not be something in the nature of light, which, according as the rays fall more or less obliquely on the ocean, occasions the varieties observ'd in its flux and reflux? But he was as certainly wrong, in the hypothefis by which he attempted to account for them; viz. the power of the lunar rays to extract and confume its vapors; as if they had the like force with the folar, or the heat of a fire on the broth in a pot (with which he compares it) to cause the like ebullition and evaporation! It was reserved for a Newfon, to clear up those then mysterious phænomena; to detect the mistakes of his great predecessor; and to confirm what he had, with fewer helps but no less fagacity, observ'd and rightly afferted; but this now more strongly fortified, by more cogent and conclusive arguments, and on more certain and indisputable principles. Such a detection of the fallacy of Bacon's theory, is no restriction on, nor any-way tends to depreciate his judgment and penetration: We rather admire, that his lyncean eye could fee fo far into the Milstone, without farther improvements on those speciacles, of which he was most probably the first inventor.—In short, hypotheses sounded partly on observation and partly on conjecture, only become ridiculous and contemptible, when magisterially proposed as indubitable truths; and when, tho' they have only the feeble support of fallacious conclusions from insufficient evidence, the proponent claims an exclusive right to their admission, in preference to all others, as if they were infallible certainties. Chapple.

the Teign) on a farm called Shilfton: And the word Shilfton, in ancient deeds Shilfestan, fignifies the shelf-stone or shelving-stone. (a) With respect to the original name of this Cromlech,

fortifications and intrenchments, we are still justified in its supposed application here: For at Presson farm, within this parish, on the summit of a very steep rocky hill, now distinguish'd by the name of Preston Berry (1), close to that part of the Teign, where the road over Fingle-Bridge leads from Drews Teignton to Moretonhampstead (to which parishes the Teign is a common boundary), are the remains of a Roman encampment; and that it was really such, and not a Saxon or Danish one, is evident from its form; of which a more particular account is intended to be given elsewhere. — But if our Derwyddon Caer-Teign should after all be rejected as the result of an arbitrary and ill-grounded supposition, why might it not have been one of the 28 famous cities or towns of the ancient Britons? Among these the venerable Bede calls the 26th Cair Droithan or Droithoi, (2) which seems at least as likely, if not more so, to mean this place, as a then noted residence of the Druids, than Draiton in Shropshire, as some have imagined it to be, from the orthography of Henry of Huntingdon, who calls it Cair Darithou vel Draiton."(2) Chapple's Descript. p. 1 and 2. 12 to 16. A correspondent commenting on Chapple's Description, observes, " I entirely agree with Mr. Chapple in opir ion that it is called Drue or Drews, not from Drogo, or the family of the Drews, or any such trifling origin, but from the word Drui, of which I will fay more presently; but I will first confirm the author's opinion, by just mentioning, that it so happens that there is a similar structure between Bath and Bristol, of which Governor Pownall has given a memoir to the Society of Antiquarians; and the name of the place is not, indeed, Druisteignton, but it is Teignton-Druis, which is the same thing, and both are of the same origin. (3) I must here make a remark on the name of the river, Teing, which word, as well as Tein, Tin, Tanna, signifies fire: and there seems some analogy between this and the structure itself: and I am assured there are ruins of similar structures in several places on the banks of this river, before it reaches the fea. I have now to remark on the word Drui, that it comes not from Drus, neither does it mean the cak, or the wood where the priest retired, but is of Pe sian or rather oriental origin, and fignifies a fage, a wife-man, a prophet, a priest, whose office it was to preserve the rites of the Cuthite religion, and to observe the motions of the host of heaven, which they worshipped. This word has still the same signification in the ancient Erse, or Irish language; and a Druid temple, therefore, means a temple at which the wife-men prefided: In this, then, the author and I pretty nearly agree. - I come next to his endeavours to explain the meaning of the word Cromlech, about which the author took a great deal of pains, but I think has left the matter very near where he found it: I will endeavour to clear it up. He has got part of the way by deciding that it is derived from Cromleach, or Cromleagh, or Cromliach, all of which mean the fame thing but I do not hefitate to fay that it means the fame thing as Stonebenge, concerning which much learning has been exerted, not to much purpose. Cromlech, then, is derived from Cromleagh, which is composed of Crom a stone, and leagh lying or leaning, poised or hanging. I saw one of these structures in Ireland, with a flat enclined stone supported by three upright ones, which the Irish called Cromlech, and I was affured that was the derivation of it: And fo, in like manner, is Stonebenge derived from Stein a stone, and benge to hang, or poise, or lean-Nothing could be more natural than these names; for stones thus placed were the characteristics of these structures.'

(a) "What renders this farm more remarkable is its Cromlech; which is fituated in a small field or inclosure belonging thereto, the measure whereof is not quite 2 acres and half; which field, tho' on the ascent of a hill, and not above a surlong or two below its summit, is nearly plain and level. Indeed we might rather have expected to find it on the summit itself, as Dr. Borlase says structures of this fort are generally so situated; from whence, and from the exactness with which some of them are piaced, he concludes, (4) "that those who erected them were very solicitous to place 'em as conspicuously as possible." But the above situation of our Cromlech perhaps was rather chosen, as being less exposed to the bleak northern winds, and yet sufficiently commodious for the uses to which it was appropriated. For tho' its northerly prospect be obstructed by the higher part of the hill call'd Church-Down, which excludes almost every object within 2 or 3 points to the east or west from the north, yet the view from it every-way else is so extensive as to exhibit for the most part an open and fair norizon, from the sun-rising to sun-setting in the longest day; and gives the Shilfton farmer, tho' he cannot from hence see his own parish church (which is hidden by another little hill), a distinct view of four others viz. those of Moretonbampstead, Chagford, Gidley, and Throwleigh.

(2) See Smith's Bede (Append.) p. 655 and 658; and Hen. Huntingd. Hift. Lib. 1. fol. 170 of Savile's Ed. of the Scriptores post Bedam.

(4) Antiq. of Cornw. Ch IX, p. 210.

<sup>(1)</sup> Doubtle's fo call'd from the Saxon Byrig, which, figuifies not only Urbs, but also Arx, Propugnaculum, Castrum, &c. And accordingly most old castles, fortifications, and encampments in Devonshire, still retain their Saxon appellation of Berry. Chapple.

<sup>(3)</sup> The remains of this monument near Bath, bear the name of the Wedding among the common people, from a tradition, that as a bride was going to be married, the and the reft of the company were changed into pillars of flone.

Cromlech, it would be absurd to conjecture. It is, at present, known in the neighbourhood, by the name of the Spinster's-rock.(a) This Cromlech is of moor-stone: And Mr.

Throwleigh.—The Cromlech stands within a mile and a quarter nearly west of the church of Drews Teignton, and directly north from that of Chagford, at the distance of not quite 2 miles from it; which situation is nearly in the middle of the county of Devon, being within 2 miles and half of the center of its circumscribing circle: For this center, if Mr. Donn has accurately delineated the sea coasts of Devon in his map,—which, whatever other saults it may have, or be supposed to have (for it has been charged with some unjustly), I think has never been questioned,—is about a mile and quarter to the south-west of the church of Hittesseigh." Chapple's Description, p. 28 to 30.

(a) "What name the Druids gave our Drews-Teignton Cromlech at its first erection, cannot now be

certainly known; and can only be guess'd at, either from its present name, or its original use. With respect to the former, the name, by which the learned have distinguish'd it from other Druidical monuments, fails us; for we may infer from the latter, if this can be determined with more certainty, as 'tie prefumed it may, that Cromlech could not, with any propriety, be its original name. Let us try then, what light its modern vulgar name may afford us, on a supposition it was derived from some appellation originally expressive of its use .--This Cromlecb is vulgarly known to the inhabitants of Drezus Teignton and its neighbourhood by no other name than that of Spinster's or Spinner's Rock; and their common faying is, that it was erected by three spinsters one morning before their breakfast. These Spinsters, tho' the appellation among lawyers is peculiar to maiden women, but feems to be originally derived from the common employment of young girls in former ages, the inhabitants represent as having been not only spinsters in the former sense, but also spinners by occupation. For according to their account, they did it after finishing their usual work, and going home with their pad, as the phrase here is; that is, carrying home their pad of yarn to the yarn-jobber, to be paid for spinning it: And on their return, observing such heavy materials unapplied to any use, and being strong wenches (giantesses we may presume, such as Gulliver's Glumdalclitch, or the blouzes of Patagonia), as an evidence of their strength and industry, and to shame the men, who either from weakness or laziness had desisted from the attempt, they jointly undertook this task, and rais'd the unwieldy stones to the height and position in which they still remain. This is the tale, which they say has been handed down from generation to generation; and thence they tell you, this romantic structure had its name.——It is usual with the vulgar, to ascribe almost every-thing that they think beyond the reach of human power, to the devil, or diabolical arts: In the present case, however, they have not thought it necessary to call in his devilship's affistance; but having a notion that the people of former ages were of a gigantic stature and Herculean strength, they imagin'd this sufficient to account for the erection of such structures as these; taking for granted they could lift up, and properly place, fuch huge blocks of moor-stone, as the pigmies of the present time are unable to move. But granting their strength and their bulk were as supposed, still 'twas an odd undertaking for spinsters! Had a Talmudic, or a legendary romancer after the Saxon conversion, been author of the tale, he would rather have constituted them bed-makers to Og the king of Basan, the dimensions of whose iron bedstead are recorded by Moses (1); it being in length nearly the same as our Cromlech, but this in its breadth would make room for his queen also (for the canopy would overshadow both):(2) And having this certain evidence of its dimensions, and

(1) Denterony 3. 11.

<sup>(2)</sup> The Writer hereof is far from intending any ridicule on the facred feriptures: Uninfatuated by the fashionable feepticism of the times, he would not even infinuate any-thing derogatory to any part of the Mosaic history; A history, which those who deny its inspiration must allow to be the most ancient, and the best authenticated, of any that pretend to Nor would be charge every extraordinary incident there recorded, that might shock the belief of a Bolingbroke or a Voltaire, on a supposed corruption of the text. Such, 'tis acknowledg'd, there certainly are, in some parts of those writings, but none can be pretended in that here quoted; it appearing from the accurate collations of our very learned and indefatigable countryman, the Rev. Dr. Kennicott, that not only all the ancient printed copies collated by him, but also all the manuscript ones to the number of 119, agree with the present reading in the dimensions of the bedstead abovemention'd, save only one MS, wherein the words expressive of its breadth are omitted. Indeed there seems no reason to doubt of the gigantic stature of Og, or of the other descendents of Anak, as there attessed; but the 'his bedstead were fix cubits long, it doth not follow that he himself was of that height. Ve may allow him however full five cubits, which I take to be somewhat less than the stature of Ordulph or Edulph the son of Ordgar Duke of Devonshire must have been, even supposing the leg and thigh bones preserv'd, and shewn for his in Tavystoke Church, were really his, and taken out of his enormous sepulcher at the diffolution of the abbey there, where Malmibury tells us it was to be seen; he being "gigantee molis & immanis roboris:" But if these bones be admitted as evidences of his proportionable height, I imagine, (from what I remember of their fize) it hardly exceeded 8 feet, or very little more than 5 cubits. Such a man might find soom to stretch himself between two of the supporters of our Cromlech; but perhaps not to that length to which the same Historian stretches the legs of this Ordulph, when, at a hunting in Dorsetshire, he makes him stride over a rivulet that was ten feet wide from bank to bank. He also represents him as having firength proportional to his flature; and gives an instance of his exertion of it when coming to Exeter with King Edward the Confessor (to whom he was related), and approaching that city he found the gate shut against them; the people within being then, it seems, careful to preserve their right to faut the gates against all Arangers, at least 'till they gave a fatisfactory account of themselves: Or perhaps, as our

the gigantic stature of Og, a fanciful narrator, when geography and chronology, the two eyes of history, were both shut, might as cleverly bring him hither, in a voyage with some Sidonian trader, on a temporary visit to Britain, and perhaps with as much affurance of a ready reception by credulous and uninquisitive people, as Jeffery of Monmouth could introduce a Trojan Brute to settle here: And to make the story plausible, his Basannic Majesty had only to appoint a regent in Argob during his absence.—But leaving such fancies, to make room for others; which, tho' not so far fetch'd, but of frome-fabrication, may possibly, for that very reason, be the less esteem'd by some, and contemptuously rejected, as little better authenticated than the childish and fabulous story itself on which they are founded. Indeed nothing to our purpose can be deduced from it as simply told; only from its texture, 'tis sufficiently evident, that the supposed erection of this Cromlech by 3 spinsters (except as to their number, which might be from that of its supporters), must have had its origin from its common name; not the name from them, as the Drewfteigntonians would persuade us. Yet, as the wildest and most ridiculous traditions, generally retain some shadow of their original, whether founded on fable or fact; so the most disguised and corrupted words and names may, after all, preserve so many of their radical letters as spelt, or so much resemblance of their original sounds as spoken, as, with she concurrence of other circumstances, may invite an etymologist to attempt an investigation of their meaning; tho' not always with the defired fuccess .--Permit me however, to offer a conjecture, after taking for granted that the original name of this Cromlech was expressive of the use for which it was defign'd. And as it will hereafter appear, that its fabrication was not only for sciatherical purposes, but also for such geographical as well as astronomical observations and conclusions as might be generally deducible from thence; it being certain that the ancients were guided in such observations by the æquinoctial shadow of a perpendicular gnomon or style, and fitted their instruments to it: (1) Why then might not the astronomical Druids give it some Celtic appellation fignificant of that use; such as Lle Yspiennwer rhongea (in the British dialect of the Celtic), the Place of the open or hollow Observatory?(2) Or possibly Yspieriddyn Ser rongea, the open Star-gazing Place.(2) This the Britons themselves, if we may suppose them to have discontinued its use and forgotten the meaning of its name, after the extirpation of the Druids by the Romans, might change for other words of a similar found, but having regard only to the massive and ponderous stones that composed it, such as Swp pynnerog, the weighty Pile—Swp fignifying a pile, a heap, a lump, a hunch, &c. and pynnerog heavy; from pynner, an old British word for a load, burden, or weight. But whether they had thus corrupted it or not, at the time of the Saxon conquest, the Saxons not understanding the British language, and mistaking their appellatives for proper names, as has been elsewhere observ'd in respect to our rivers, might do the like here; and fostening the rough and guttural pronunciation of the Britons, would naturally adopt instead of it some word or words, of a somewhat similar sound, in their own language; by which it became easily exchanged into Spinners Rocc. Where note, the word Rocs meant not the same with the modern English word Rock, answering to the Latin Saxum or Petra; but was the old Teutonic word for Colus, a Distaff; which is still called by the Germans, EIN SPINNROCKEN, in Low-Dutch SPINN-ROCK. Rock indeed, in the fame languages as well as in the Anglo-Saxon, also fignifies a Coat or Gown; whence perhaps the French Roquet and Roqueleau: And the English Saxons besides the word Rocc likewise used the same word for Distaff (Distaf) which we

author observes, the porter, not knowing of their coming, might be too far off to give their ready admission. Enraged at this, Ordulph (or Edulph as he calls him) with both his hands, apparently without much difficulty, broke the bars and bolts, and using also the force of his feet, unhinged the valves of the gate, shatter'd them to pieces, and threw down a part of the wall adjoining: As if he meant to shew the king how far he could match Sampson, who forced open and carried off the gates of Gaza; but the other courtiers present it seems, to diminish his applause, ascribed the whole to diabolical adistance rather than to any human power. Vide Malmsb. de gestis Pontif. Angl. lib. 2. p. 146. Ed. Savil. Script. post Bedam. See also the Extracts from him in Leland's Collectanca, tom. 2. p. 256.

(1) Claud. Salmasius in Solinum, pag. 641. "Ad æquinoctialis diei partes duodenario numero æqualiter dividendas, Babylonii Græcique omnes Astrologi veteres et Gnomonici rationes suas accommodarunt. Nec sane aliter sieri potuit. Et hoe ita siebat nondum publicato horarum nomine et usu. Post eas repertas et Horologia inventa, quum horæ ipsæ variarent et pro dierum ratione modo breviores modo longiores ponerentur. Astronomi tamen Astrologique omnes, et Gnomonici, insuper habita horarum civili observatione, æquinoctiales solas ad usum ac rationes suas observabant. Etenim cum horologia omnia tum ad cursum Solis sasa, horas exhiberent omnium anni mensium ex umbrarum momentis erescentes ac decrescentes, fosius Gnomonis æquinoctialis umbras respiciebant, gnomonici et rationes omnes Mathematicas ad eum dirigebant."—He then refers to Vitruvius, lib 1. c. vi. and adds,—"Etiam diversi regionum situs, quos varia facit inclinatio cœli, quique ex umbrarum incrementis ac mutationibus dep ehenduntur, non aliter colligi folebant, nis per umbræ alquinoctialis gnomonem." And after citing lib. ix. c. 8. of Vitruvius, to which this is inserted as a note under p. 197 of Laet's edition (Leyd. 1649), to shew that various places have various lengths of the equinoctial shadow (as indeed they must, if of different latitudes, varying according to the elevation of the pole and consequent depression of the equator), he concludes, "Ideo quibuscumque in locis horologia describerentur, co loci sumebant æquinoctialem umbram. Quinetiam ad dierum augmenta ac decrementa per singulos menses indicanda non aliis horis quam æquinoctialebus utuntur veteres Calendariorum auctores."—Annotat. in Vitruv. edit. subtradict. p. 197.—Vide & Strab. lib 2. sub since patient, et alibi passim.

(2) Being not sufficiently acquainted with the requisite changes of letters and other distinctions which the various inflections in the composition and construction of the British or other Celtic dialects frequently require, to be answerable for the first propriety of these supposed appellations; I must defire the excuse of the Cambro British reader, for any deviation from orthographic nicety in them; since any little error of this kind cannot materially affect the general deduction from it,

in respect to their subsequent changes for words of similar found. Chapple.

Mr. Chapple informs us, "that like most others, it has only three supporters; flat, and irregular in their shape; their surfaces rough and unpolish'd; and their position not directly upright but more or less leaning, (two to the northward, and the other to the fouth and east), and yet so as firmly to sustain the very ponderous table-stone which covers them: The whole forming a kind of large irregular tripod, and of such a height as if defigned for the feat to the queen of Brobdingnag's dwarf, or the footstool of Gulliwer's nurse; its upper surface being, where highest, near 9 feet and half from the ground, and the whole on an average at least 8 feet. The greatest length of its table-stone between its two most distant angles is about 15 feet, but taken parallel to its sides about 14, and at a medium not above 13 feet and half; its greatest breadth 10 feet, but this meafur'd at right angles in that part where its two opposite sides are nearly parallel, is at a medium but 9 feet 10 inches. Its form, on a superficial view, has been commonly confidered as that of an irregular Trapezium, two of whose 4 sides are partly curv'd, another wholly so, and only one appears to be in a right line; but even this is not strictly so. This, fome would have to be the shape in which it happen'd to be form'd in its quarry, with little or no alteration by the hand of a workman; but on a nicer examination it appears to form an hexagonal figure, three of whose sides are straight lines (saving a very finall curvature at the extremity of one of them), and the other three, curves; and thefe described with the utmost regularity and exactness: Wherefore, tho' we may sometimes occasionally call it a Trapezium, it must not be so strictly understood as having that kind of figure to which geometers confine that name. The upper part of this trapezium or table-stone, is as usual in other Cromlechs, bulging and gibbous, or, as the country-people express it, faddle-backed; but its under surface, tho not smoothly polish'd, is, or originally was, almost every-where a plane, and free from irregular knobs or bunches. This plane makes an angle with the plane of the horizon of about 3 degrees and 55 minutes: For it is to be observ'd, that its three supporters are of unequal heights, and confequently the plane they support cannot be horizontal, but inclines a little downward, as is the case in most other Cromlechs we have any account of, at least of those in the British isles that have been with any degree of precision described. Among other seeming irregularities, the inequality of the heights of the supporters, which occasions this inclination or declivity, and gives ours a dip towards the fouth-west, was not accidental, but defignedly chosen as most expedient to answer the purposes for which the Cromlech was erected. The thickness of the table-stone is different in different parts of it. In the part over the middle supporter, which most bulges or swells upward, it has been found, on a late careful mensuration of it, to be not less than 3 feet and seven inches: From thence this

have retain'd; but that they also (and perhaps more frequently) used the former in this sense is sufficiently evident.—The Saxon name of our Cromlech being thus establish'd, and the Spinners' employment at their rock implied in it, however understood at first, this ambiguous word, Rock, came at length to be taken in its most common sense, as referring to the rock from whence the materials of this structure were supplied; Distass being little used in Devonshire, and scarce known in this part of it, where no flax or hemp is grown. Hence the story of the three spinsters, and their labour in erecting the sabrick supposed to have its denomination from them, might easily have its rise; and, only changing the Distass for a Spinning-wheel, and adding some embellishments, became the subject of a common tale among nurses, to please children, and amuse the ignorant. Let it however be remember'd, that this derivation of its vulgar name, (tho' perhaps not less probable than any hitherto given of the British word Cromlech,) is proposed as conjectural only; and its probability or improbability submitted to the discussion of the judicious reader." Chapple's Description, p. 97 to 108.

My commentator on Chapple further observes: "I must make one remark on the tradition which the author gives relative to this structure, concerning the three indies—with regard to which, my accounts differ and go rather farther. My accounts say that the tradition varies—some times it is three young men, and sometimes three young ladies. But the tradition goes farther, and says, that not only the three pillars were erected in memory of the three young ones, but that the flat one which covers them was placed there in memory of their father, or mother, according as you supposed the young ones to be male and semale, and that each of these, both young and old, setched these shows from the highest parts of the mountain of Dartmoor, where, for some reason or other, they had thought fit to take up their residence. Perhaps the expression Lle Y Spiennwr, which the author seems to think implies a spying or surveying place, might give rise to the idea of spinners, and this turn them into three ladies. But you will perhaps guess why I encline to suppose these stones might be erected, among other reasons, in memory of an old man and his three sons, who descended from an exceeding high mountain, on a certain occasion."

thickness diminishes more or less every way towards the sides of the trapezoid respectively, where the thicknesses also vary. For, towards the north-west, it is from 20 inches to 2 feet thick: the arch'd part at the north-east is rounded off to a blunt edge, both above and below: the fouth-east side (where its thickness would otherwise be 17 inches) is under-cut inward, so as to form a reclining plane 22 inches in the slope back, or 14 inches horizontally; and this reclining continues for 7 feet and 7 inches in length, to that point where the curvilinear boundary begins. Between this point and that part which projects over the eastern edge of the lower prop, there has been an excavation of its upper surface, and a seeming abruption of some part of it; whether originally fo design'd, or the effect of violence since, we may hereafter have occasion to enquire. On the whole, the average thickness of this covering stone may be estimated at one foot and 9 inches, or near half the greatest thickness of its bulging part. But more of this, and of the nature and length of the curves which form three on its sides, when we come to specify its dimensions and properties more minutely.—This may suffice at pre-fent, with regard to its general dimensions and form; of which latter however, the View of it prefix'd to this tract will give those who have not seen it a more perfect idea than any verbal description. (a) But as, among other dimensions, having repeatedly survey'd it, in order to have a perfect plan, I took care (by girthing and otherwise) to have sufficient to determine its folidity also; and from thence, and the known specific gravity of the moor stone of which it wholly consists, to be enabled to estimate its weight; it may be more proper here to give the result of those measures, than to interrupt our intended enquiries into its geometrical construction by introducing it there.—The areas of the several parts into which the plane of its under surface was to be divided, as the different thicknesses required, in order to obtain their respective solidities, being requisite to be first afcertain'd; I thence found the sum of those areas, or the whole superficial area of this undermost surface or plain part of the table-stone, to be 125 square feet; being not quite half of a square perch, tho very little short as wanting not a 12th part of it. And this is the quantity of ground it covers, or rather overshadows, at about 6 feet and 3 or four inches, on an average, in height from the furface of the ground: which height is meant of the under part of the stone only; that of its upper (as may be gather'd from the above dimensions) being from 6 to at least 9 feet and half.—The different thicknesses being carefully distinguish'd as above, with the superficial areas under each, and the bulging upwards allow'd for; I thence found the whole solidity of the said stone (disregarding a very small fraction of a foot) to be 216 cubic feet very nearly. Now a cubic foot of water weighing 62lb. 1/2 avoirdupois, and the specific gravity of moorstone being found, by the experiments of Mr. Labelye the Westminster Bridge Engineer, to be to that of water, as 2.656 to 1; from the above solidity we have 216 × 62,5 × 2.656 = 35856lb. avoirdupois, for the neat weight of the covering stone of this Cromlech: that is, in gross weight (reckoning as usual 112lb. to the hundred, and 20 such hundreds to make a tun), fixteen tun, with an addition of 16 pounds avoirdupois. (b)" The use of the Cromlech has been a fubject

(a) Mr. Chapple is perfectly right in this observation. The View intended for his tract, might

have precluded this tedious description.

(b) A former computation made it not quite 12 tun; but on re-examining the dimensions, it appear'd, that the greatest thickness had been therein reckon'd a whole foot less than it really is: And even the present correction of that mistake, makes it still less than a person, from a rough guess at it on a view only, would have taken it to be. Our Cromlech at Drews Teignton has, perhaps, suffered less, either from internal decay or external violence, than most others. This (like those in Cornwall) is of moor-stone, which is known to stand all weathers; and accordingly it has hitherto resisted the surious assaults of the most raging storms. No less firm in its sabrication than other structures of the like kind are said to be, it still continues free from all danger of removal by the utmost efforts of human force, unless assisted by artificial contrivances; and only obnoxious to be thrown down by the shock of an earthquake, the accidental direction of a thunder-bolt, or the modern imitation of thunder by the help of gunpowder. It is moreover secured, by the care of its present worthy owner, as it has hitherto been by the plenty of other stones at no great distance from it, from the avarice of such persons as have else-where blown up other structures of the like kind, for building or other uses: And tho' by some deem'd a monument of ancient idolatry, yet this being unsuspected by the depredators of the last century at least, has also happily escaped the wantonness of military

a subject of much conjecture. (a) An ingenious writer says, that the Cromlech is the Bith he ram of the Canaanites; (b) and that its name declares it to have been a temple dedicated

mischief,(1) and the fury of fanatic reformers. So that we still have its essential parts entire (tho' unattended by the satellites which probably once surrounded it), and can the better examine into, and judge of its original design, and the uses for which it was erected." Chapple's Description, p. 70 to 72.

(b) Josh. XIII, 27.

70 to 72. (b) Josh. XIII, 27.
(a) One would have the monument in question for the purposes of a heathen temple: For a regard for heathen temples is no less in the taste of the times, than prospects of the venerable ruins of dilapidated churches, desecrated chapels, and suppress'd religious houses: Nay, some (as if ashamed of the christian piety of their ancestors) choose rather to subvert and efface all remains of the latter, to make room or supply materials for the former. - Another demands it as an ancient altar for human facrifices; and which, if restored to its original use, might make quicker dispatch in that business, than the modern mode of sending the victims on shipboard, or into the army, for the ease and benefit of the parish. (2)—A third lays claim to it as a family burying-place; and digs up the bones of his ancestors (who, to signify to posterity their own great importance, chose to take their long sleep under so grand a canopy), to be produced as unquestionable evidences of uninterrupted possession.—A fourth, with more appearance of reason, insists on its having been the place of a druidical court-leet; and pleads (unbribed by a fee) in behalf of the lord of the manor, that he, having not only the chancellorship of the court-baron incident thereto, but also the view of frankpledge, has confequently a legal right to hold that court in the anciently accustomed place. (3)-Some, who are not fo immediately concern'd, are content to wait the iffue of the difpute; whilft others, observing, and desirous to avail themselves of, the flaws in the pleas and proceedings of the disputants, are inclined to protract it, and to postpone any final decision by demurs and delays; hoping in the mean while to fet up some claim of their own, to some share at least, of the premises contended for.——Thus stands the matter at present: How far any-thing here to be alledg'd may conduce to put an end to the contest, must be left to the determination of the judges."

Description, p. 67 to 70.
"The different opinions of antiquarians concerning their primary use and design, may be reducible to these: viz. That they were either temples, or altars, or courts of judicature, or places of legislation, where new laws were proclaim'd, or the old enforced; or for public orations to the people, on these or other subjects; or lastly, for sepulchral monuments. --That facrifices might be offer'd, courts of judicature held, or laws promulgated, in convenient places at or near them, is not altogether improbable: And that fome of them have been occasionally applied to the purposes of sepulture and memorials of the dead, is pretty certain; there being one or more in Cornwall that have cairns, or (as the Devonians, from the Saxon, most properly call them (fone-burrows) under their covering-stones: Some of the Danish Cromlechs are also said to be placed on the top of a barrow(4), and an urn is faid to have been found under one of them in Ireland. But that they were originally defign'd for neither of these purposes (at least that ours at Drezus Teignton was not), 'tis presumed will fufficiently appear from what follows. Mean while, let it be here observ'd, that as far as their uses have been guess'd at, from the stone circles by which some of them were surrounded, or to which they were annexed, fo far the defign of fuch circles has of course become the object of enquiry among the writers on this subject; as being deem'd prior to the Cromlechs with which they are frequently connected, and which have been supposed additional appendages to them: fo that a discovery of the defigns of the Druids in those, was thought the most likely to indicate the subservient uses of these. But it will perhaps appear, that the real uses of such circles may, with greater probability, be discovered from the construction and design of the Cromlechs, if this can from other evidence be

<sup>(1)</sup> The foldiers during the civil wars, out of wantonness, and to try the conjunctive force of a number of men in removing the largest stones pois'd on each other in divers parts of Cornwall, are said to have thrown tome of them down: And Dr. Borlase from Mr. Scawen's MS informs us (Antiq. of Cornw. p. 171), that "in the time of Cromwell, "when all monumental things became despicable, one Shrubsall then Governor of Pendennis, by much ado, caus'd" the Logging Stone call'd Men-amber in the parish of Sithney in that county, "to be undermined and thrown down, to the great grief of the country."

<sup>(2)</sup> This practice is faid to have been prevalent in Q. Anne's time: and fome think it is, in fome places, not yet wholly discontinued. - However this be, we know of no lock-up houses in Devonshire.

<sup>(3)</sup> It has been the opinion of fome lawyers, that where a court-leet has been, time immemorial, held at one certain place within its precinct, it ought to be continued there and not elsewhere: And Jacob (in his Court keeper p. 3.) quotes Magna Charta as requiring it to be held in loco certo ac determinato: But that statute (cap. 35) only says, the Sherist's Torn in the hundred shall be kept, non nisi in loco debito & consucto; and with respect to the leet (which indeed was derived from it), only limits the time when, but not the place where, it is to be annually held. So that the place for the leet seems to be lest ad libitum, provided it be within the precinct; and accordingly Sir William Scroggs says, a court-leet may be held in any place within the hundred, parish, or manor, for which it is kept. See Scroggs of Courts Leet, p. 12.——
This (which in a serious view is foreign to our subject) is only noted here, to prevent any mistake of the allusion to it above.

<sup>(4)</sup> Borlafe's Antiq. Cornw. p. 215.

dedicated to their god, the heavens, under the attribute of the projector, or mover of things projected. Mr. Chapple was of opinion, that the Cromlech was defigned for the apparatus

more certainly known, as 'tis prefumed it may: And therefore the examination of fuch circles will most regularly follow that of the *Cromlechs*; and only here require notice as commonly join'd with them in the disquisitions of the authors recited concerning the latter. They have been generally supposed open temples of the Druids, and the Cromlechs as so many altars for their facrifices. We have already taken notice of this, as being the opinion of M. Mallett and Mr. o Halloran; and indeed in this they agree with the generality of the latest writers on the subject, who have evinc'd these rock-monuments to be undoubtedly Celtic, and most of them, if not all, to be contrived by the Druids; who, befides their facerdotal offices and pretend d prophetic character, were not only the arbiters of all controversies in respect either to the religion or the laws of the Celtic nation and colonies, but were also the only professors of philosophy and science amongst them: So, that such stone cirques and entablatures were really productions of their art and ingenuity (for whatever purposes defign'd) may be prefumed on as indisputable, and now generally taken for granted. For the notions of their being erected by the Romans as some have supposed, or as trophies of victories obtained by them, or by the Saxons or Danes, as others would perfuade us, have been defervedly reprobated, as utterly destitute of the least probability. But tho' we must admit them to be undeniably druidical, yet that they were all originally intended for religious purposes, is not so unquestionable, however conforant to the united fuffrages of the best writers concerning them, not excepting Dr. Borlafe; tho' indeed he on good evidence differs from them all, in denying that the Cromlechs, with which they are frequently connected, could possibly be intended for altars; of which, after what has been already faid on that subject in the preceding pages, we need not here adduce his proofs. Were it to be granted that all such monuments were (as he thinks) originally of religious institution, or even tho' not so primarily design'd, yet if afterwards thought proper to be connected with any such, and had alters and fit places near them dedicated to the worthip of the gods, the supposed subsequent uses of these, as places of council, treaties, elections, and dispensations of law and justice, would all very naturally follow. For "next to religion," (as the same author observes)(1), "government must be supposed to have claim'd the attention, and employ'd the labour and arts of mankind; and in order to give weight to the most solemn acts of the society, where could affemblies be held more properly than in places confecrated to religion, already reverenc'd equally by the nobles and the commonality, and therefore likely to influence those who were to make laws and govern, as well as awe those who were to follow them and obey?" -- Places diffinguish'd by the rites of religious worship, and fanctified by the supposed presence of the Deity, would (as he surther observes) be thought "most likely to inspire the rulers with justice and knowledge, and the people with submission," add a sanction to the laws there made, render oaths more obligatory, and double the impiety of any violations of compacts there made, or disturbance of friendships there contracted.—
"Besides (adds he) the ancients took care that all civil treaties, laws and elections should be attended by facrifices; that place must therefore serve most commodiously for ratifying such acts of the community, where they could fo eafily have all the means of the most facred attestations, as priests, altars, and victims to confirm them. '-Places thus dignified by religious rites there perform'd (as he proceeds to observe, (2) still speaking of the stone circles), would afterwards be naturally chosen as most proper for assemblies on any emergent or extraordinary occasions, and be accordingly used both as places of worship and council; and having altars near them (tho' he admits not their Gromlechs to be such) would of course become the curia and fora of the same community. But whether those circles of stones were originally intended for temples or not; or whether for the judges, counfellors, or nobles, to stand or sit by or upon, according to their dignity and rank, at their courts, treaties or elections, as the Doctor and many other writers have supposed; is (for the reason before given) not to properly the subject of our examination at present, the' it has been commonly interwoven therewith, as a recital of the fentiments of those writers concerning the Gromlechs that have been erected in or near them. With respect to these, Dr. Borlase(3), after shewing their unsitness for altars (tho' he thinks it not unlikely that the ancients might facrifice near them, whence the great quantities of ashes found near those in Fersey), assigns his reason for supposing them sepulchral monuments. This he not only infers from the tumuli, to be met with under some of them, but inter alia alledges, in support of this opinion, their refemblance of the Cornish Kist-waens, which, he fays, "certainly inclosed the bones of the dead;" and asks, "what else is a Cromleb but a Kist-vaen confishing of larger fide stones, cover'd with a still larger and flat one on the top?" Therefore the estimate he had just before given (in p. 214) of the dimensions of such a monument, to render this kind of evidence confiftent, should mean those of a common Kift-waen; not of a Cromlech; tho' it be there express'd as if spoken of the latter, and the supposed fitness of its size for a human body, but representing the area under its quoit as only about 6 feet and half long by 4 feet wide, which gives no more than 26 square feet, agreeable to the dimensions of the ancient Sarcopbagi; whereas those of the Cromlech at Molfra, and others which he himself describes, as well as of ours at Dresos Teignton, give near 5 times that area (fome perhaps more), and confequently room for as many dead bodies, initead of the fingle ones inclosed in the common Kift-warns. Accordingly Wormius, whom Dr. Borlase quotes in his next page, as mentioning a Crypta and a Cromlech together in one barrow, from the many human bones taken out of the first, might well conclude it " to have been the burying-place of some illustrious family;" but the Doctor's conclusions from these premises seem to limit even the Cromlechs, notwithstanding their superior magnitude, to the more confined contents of the Kiff waens, and as appropriated to the fepulture of fingle perfons only. For having before observid, after inferring from the suppos'd fimilarity of Cromlechs to Kiff-vaens, that the former were for the fame purposes, only constructed on a larger plan, - that "the supporters, as well as covering-stone, are no more than the fuggestion of the common universal sense of mankind, which was, first, on every fide to fence and furround the dead-body from the violences of weather, and from the rage of enemies; and in the next place, by the grandeur of its construction to do honour to the memory of the dead; -he here concludes thus (p. 215): "It is very probable therefore, that the use and intent of the Croml b was primarily to distinguish, and to do honour to the dead, and also to inclose the dead body, by placing the supporters and covering-stone so as they should furround it on all sides." But then he thinks perfons of eminence only were dignified with fuch a sepulchral monument; such as a Chief Priest or Druid, or some Prince, a favourite of that order; especially when it was erected in the middle of a facred circus, or on the edge of fuch a circle, when its middle was already taken up by a fingle obelifk, which he supposes to have been always regarded as a symbol of something divine, and generally worship'd; and that the Cromlesh so placed might perhaps respect a particular region of the heavens: And then adds (p. 216), " Princes and great commanders were not only interr'd in a barrow, but had their fepulchres farther dignified by a Croml b erected for them." Having thus epitomiz'd the observations and sentiments of Dr. Borlase in respect to the uses of Cromle bs, which he too haftily concludes to have been originally defigned for fepulchral monuments, I would only here recommend to the reader a suspension of his judgment thereon, as he may probably hereafter be fully convinc'd, that they could not have been originally intended by the Draids as sepulchres for their Chiefs, or indeed for any-one else; at least that ours could not be so applied, 'till after its primary uses were probably forgotten. But that some of them were in after-times applied to fuch purpofes, is fufficiently evident from the human bones found under one in Ireland, and from the cairns and barrows, or burrows, under some in Cornwall and elsewhere: After which, we may grant that as places of burial they might become "fcenes of the parentalia, or where divine honours were paid, and facrifices perform'd to the manes of the dead;" but we must agree with the Doctor in observing, that " these rites must have been transacted at some distance from the Croml b, which (as has been evidently proved) could never ferve for facrifices."—TOLAND's fpecimen of a proposed History of the Druids, in three letters to Lord Viccount Molejworth, (1) contains many things relative to the remains of ancient Celtic and Druidical monuments, well worth notice, and on which, some of his conjectures seem not improbable: But his chief aim in this epitome of the history he promifed to give more at large, of the Druids, or of their priesterast as he thinks it might most properly be styled (see his first letter, p. 8 and 9) being to parallelize it with, and to vilify the christian priesthood, which he appears to have held in superlative contempt; be with this view labours to warp and diffort it into the most frightful form, and to disfigure and difquife it in the most odious and disgustful dress; catching at every conjecture, however groundless, that might afford him the least handle to expose and ridicule, not only the delusive objects of pagan superstition, but whatever had been at any time deservedly held sacred. Due allowance ought therefore to be given for his prejudices, whilst we avail ourselves of that intelligence which his acquaintance with Ireland and its ancient language (the least corrupted dialect of the old Celtic), and the many reliques of Druidical antiquity there to be met with, enabled him to give us. In this respect, as I can no more approve of his antichristianity than be could of that extreme superflition which he complains of (p. 112) in Mr. Aubrey, yet acknowledging him an honest man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters of fact; to I may here make the like use of bis, as he him-

<sup>(1)</sup> For the opportunity of inspecting this,—and a Latin tract on the same subject, published in 1664, and entituled Syntagma de Druidum Moribus at Institutis: Auctore T. S. (i. c. T. Smith, S. T. P.)—as well as for many former favours of the like kind, I am indebted to the kindness and friendship of the Rev. William Hole, Archdeacon of Barnslaple, in the Diocese of Exeter; whose judgment and crudition, which no less enable him to distinguish, than his benevolence prompts him to communicate, such intelligence as the best authors can assort, for the cultivation of useful literature, give hum a higher claim than the private thanks only, of those on whom such savours are bestowed;—and whose obliging condescention to furnish, from his curious collection, whatever tracts might conduce to throw additional light on, or tend to the improvement of, even such uninteresting lucubrations as mine, cannot but merit my most grateful acknowledgments.—On perusing this of Dr. Smith, I had the satisfaction to find what has been herein before observed, concerning the human sacrifices of the Druids and the objects of their worship, more fully consirm'd; not only from the authorities already cited, but also from the additional testimonics of Diodorus Siculus, Tacitus, Pliny, Solinus, &c. which need not here be enlarged on. But the letters of Toland on this subject, affording much information that may be subservient to our present purpose, may occasionally require larger extracts from, and remarks on them. Chapple.

felf tells us he did of the numerous inflances of Druidical monuments with which Aubrey supplied him. "The facts he knew (fays he), not the reflections he made, were what I wanted:" So the facts Mr. Toland knew, or has on good authority given us accounts of, relative to the subject in hand, are all I want; without regarding those sneers at priests and their sacerdotal functions, for which he and Tindal were so notorious.(1) Not that I would equal his authority in other respects to that of Aubrey his informant, whose meaning he might possibly sometimes mistake or misrepresent; and with respect to what he (Toland) afferts of his own knowledge, Dr. Borlase (in his presace, p. vi.) doubts, "whether ever he copied or measured one monument;" and adds, that "the authorities upon which he afferts many extraordinary particulars, have never yet been produced:" For the Drudical history at large, wherein he promised to produce those authorities, if ever really intended to be written (as the editor of this and some other tracts of his in 1726 supposes it was), was not fo much as begun before his death, which happened in March 1721-2 (as we learn from the fame editor); and this is another reason for quoting him with caution. However, his accounts of the places in Ireland, &c. where Druidical monuments are yet to be feen, and of what kind of construction they respectively are, doubtless deserve all that credit which is due to any man of common prudence; who would be cautious of giving a false account of any such monuments, when he could not but know that every-one on the spot might in such a case easily detect it. In this specimen of his Druidical history, describing the Kistieu-vaen (for this he says is, in British or Welsh, the proper plural of Kist-vaen, (2) i.e. a stone chest), of which he tells us many are to be seen yet entire in Wales, &c. (3) - he afferts them to be so many Druid ALTARS; and that the denominated stone chefts, "they are things quite different from those real stone-chefts or cossins (commonly of one block and the lid) that are in many places found under-ground."(4) In Ireland, which by his account feems to have abounded with these supposed altars, the vulgar Irish call them Dermot and Grania's bed, from a story, which he recites, of the elopement of the latter from her husband, with one Dermot o Duvny; who being every where pursued were said to have been secreted in those Kissieu-vaen. One of these, he thinks, was originally in every circle of obelisks or stones erect, tho now frequently wanting; as he observes, such " altars (for so he calls them) are found where the circular obelisks are mostly or all taken away for other uses, or out of aversion to this superstition, or that time has consumed them." These stone circles he, with most other writers, takes to be undoubtedly Druidical temples, but difagrees with those "who from the bones which are often found near those altars and circles (tho' feldom within them) will needs infer that they were burying-places;" forgetting "what Cæfar, Pliny, Tacitus, and other authors write of the human facrifices offer'd by the Druids; and, in mistaking the ashes found in the carns," he says, "they shew themselves ignorant of those several anniversary fires and sacrifices" for which he had before shewn they were rear'd. But of these and the stone-circles, more hereafter; let us now return to this author's further account of the Kisti u-vaen. He describes them as ordinarily consisting "of four stones; three being hard flags, or large tho' thin stones set up edgewise, two making the sides, and a shorter one the end, with a fourth stone of the same kind at the top: for the other end (adds he) was commonly left open, and the altars were all oblong. Many of them are not entire." (5) But in the next page he says many of them are so, as quoted above; tho' he adds here, that, "besides the alterations that men have caused in all these kinds of monuments, time itself has chang'd 'em much more." perhaps he here ascribes to time and weather some of those seeming irregularities in their form, which a nicer examination and more accurate measures of their several parts than appear to have been hitherto taken, might possibly demonstrate to be really regular, and consistent with their origirial defign. Not but that fome diminution of their then dimensions must, in a long tract of time, refult from their age and exposure: To this purpose Toland(6) quotes Mr. Brand, who, speaking of the obelisks in Orkney, says, "Many of them appear to be much worn, by the washing of the wind and rain;" from whence he infers they are of long standing: But perhaps be also mistakes their original form, and might think fome parts worn away which were never included with them, nor otherwise existed than in his own imagication: Wherefore, we must not without due allowance for this, admit what Toland himfelf subjoins, viz. that "'tis naturally impossible, but that in the course of fo many ages, feveral stones must have lost their figure" (or rather suffer'd a diminution in their magnitude; for their shape or figure might probably be not so much alter'd as he imagines; their proportions at least may be still preserv'd, tho' somewhat reduced in their size), "their angles being exposed to all weathers, and no care taken to repair any disorder, nor to prevent any abuse of them."(7) Hence he supposes "fome of them are become lower, or jagged, or otherwise irregular and diminished;" but I should rather imagine they were originally so, and that their supposed irregularities were, in these, as we shall find them to be in the structure we propose more particularly to examine, not the effects of accident, but of art and real regularity in their design.—" Many (he adds) are quite wasted" by which perhaps he means carried off or demolished; " and moss or scurf

(1) See Pope's Dunciad, B. ii. 399.

These names, he tells us, with a small variation, are good Irish (Hist. of the Druids, p. 95); and of this, being himself an Irishman, and the ancient Irish his vernacular tongue, he must be allow'd to be a competent judge.
(3) P. 91.
(4) P. 95.
(5) P. 93.
(6) Ibid.
(7) P. 94.

hides the inscriptions or sculptures of others; for such sculptures (he says) there are, in several places, particularly in Wales and the Scottish Isle of Aran." He had before (p. 92) taken notice of characters and inscriptions observed on Druidical obelisks in Scotland and Wales, which, except the Roman and Christian inscriptions, were unintelligible to such as had hitherto seen them; but which as he justly observes, "ought to have been fairly represented for the use of such as might be able perhaps to explain them. They would at least exercise our antiquaries."—But his repeating this here in his account of the Kistieu-waen, seems a digression from them to the obelisks; for if I rightly understand him, he meant not that any such inscriptions had been observ'd on the former; concerning which, perhaps more than enough has been cited from him to our purpose, but to which I was induced by the supposed similarity of those Kistieu-vaens to the Cromlechs. How far they were really fimilar, or defign'd for fimilar purpofes, can only be determin'd (as before-hinted) by more accurate examinations of their dimensions and proportions than appear to have been hitherto taken. Mean while, Dr. Borlase is not alone in his inference from their likeness, that they were intended for, and applied to, the like uses, whatever they were; but in these, authors are not yet agreed.—
For Toland seems also to take a Cromlech to be only a larger fort of Kist-waen, tho' he describes it, (1) not only as much bigger, but also as "confisting of a greater number of stones" (which I much question the truth of, in general, tho' there are some sew instances of it),(2) "some of them serving to support the others, by reason of their enormous bulk." These structures, he says, "the Britons term CROMLECH in the fingular, Cromlechu (rather Cromlechiau) in the plural number; and the Irish CROMLEACH, or Cromleac" (or, as others spell it, Cromliach) with the addition of the letter a to make it plural. These Cromlechu, as well as the Kisticu-vaen, he will have to be (not burying-places but) ALTARS: For, as he takes the word Cromleach to fignify the Bowing-stone, he thence concludes they were all places of worship; and in short gives much the same account of Grum-cruach "the chiefest in all Ireland,"—which he takes to be an idol, and says it was overlaid with gold and filver, and that it stood in the midst of a circle of 12 obelisks (which had leffer figures on them, of brafs only) on a hill in Brefin, a district of the county of Cavan, formerly belonging to Letrim; (3)—and has recourse to the like conjectures concerning its original defignation and supposed derivation from Cruim, fignifying thunder, as Mr. o Halloran has fince adopted; whose sentiments having been already animadverted on, need not be here repeated .- Besides the Cromlech at Poitiers, mention'd in our note (d), this author tells us(4) of one in the parish of Nevern in Pembrokeshire "where the middle stone is still 18 feet high, and 9 broad towards the base, growing narrower upwards. There lyes by it a piece broken off 10 feet long, which seems more than 20 oxen can draw; and therefore (adds he) they were not void of all skill in the mechanics that could fet up the whole."—He mentions also "a noble Cromlech at Bod-ouyr in Anglesey;" and adds concerning Cromlechs in general, "Many of them, by a modest computation, are 30 tun weight; but they differ in bigness, as all pillars do" (meaning I suppose the supporters of such Cromlechs), "and their altars" (by which he feems here to mean the quoits or covering-stones only) " are ever bigger than the ordinary Kistieu-vaen. In some places of Wales these stones are called Meineuguyr, which is of the same import with Cromlechu. In Caithness and other remote parts of Scotland, these Cromleacs are pretty numerous, some pretty entire; and others, not so much consumed by time or thrown down by storms, as disorder'd and demolish'd by the hands of men."(5) He goes on to shew, that no fuch altars were ever found by Olaus Wormius or others in the temples of the Gothic nations, by which he means all those "who speak the several dialects of Gothic original, from Iceland to Switzerland, and from the Briel in Holland to Presburg in Hungary, the Bobemians and Polanders excepted." The Druids, he says, were only co-extended with the Celtic dialects; and then quotes Casar as saying expressly "there were no Druids among the Germans," they only worshipping the fun, moon, and Vulcan or fire, which they constantly saw, and by which they were manifestly benefited; rejecting all other deities, and sacrificing to none: Which of course, says our author, made alters as useless there (tho' afterwards grown fashionable) as he thinks they were necessary in the Druids temples," meaning the stone circles; and that those altars (meaning the Cromlechs, &c. and taking for granted that they were defign'd as fuch) shew them "more than probably to have been temples indeed;"(6) and fo, he tells us, the Highlanders and their Irish Progenitors have always call'd and taken them to be.—But if by altars he here means Cromlechs, as indeed he does, and supposes them every-where druidical; and if his affertion, that no such were ever found within the limits he prescribes, be found false in fact; this renders all this reasoning inconclusive, and militates against all his favourite notions relative to these supposed altars and temples. And that

<sup>(1)</sup> P. 96. (2) That Cromlechs have most commonly no more than three supporters, has been before observed; but some have sour, and this author (p. 97) quotes Chevreau Memoires d'Angleterre, p. 380, as mentioning one remaining at Poitiers in France, supported by sive lesser shores, and which (he thinks) exceeds all in the British islands, its covering stone being so seet in circumference: La pierre levee de Poitiers a soixante pieds de tour, & elle est posee sur cinq autres pierres.—But our author sancies this was a rocking-stone, tho' what induced him to that conjecture he doth not say. Possibly there may be Cromlechs in Britain as large as that at Poitiers, tho' unknown to him. Ours at Drews Teignton indeed wants somewhat more than one third of the same circumference, supposing the above measure of it meant in French seet: for so Paris seet are nearly equal to 64 feet English.

<sup>(3)</sup> P. 100.

<sup>(4)</sup> P. 97.

<sup>(5)</sup> P. 98,

<sup>(6)</sup> P. 991

apparatus of an astronomical observatory. (a) So numerous were the scientific properties which he ascribed to the Drewsteignton Cromlech, that he could have written

they are really thus founded on a mistaken negation of a known fact, may be collected from the testimony of M. Mallet and others, who, as before quoted in page 64, assure us such monuments are now to be found in Germany, as well as in other countries and places there mention'd: And then, if Cafar's evidence be also admitted, that there were no Druids among the Germans, and that the Germans offer'd no facrifices, and confequently had no altars till the Romans introduced theirs; it follows, that those more ancient monuments there, whether Cromlechs or Kist-vaens, could not have been intended for altars, but for some other, and possibly very different, purposes: Nor could they be the works of rhe Druids, but of a people within that Gothic pale which this author has here mark'd out. And hence it also follows, that those Celtic monuments, as we have already observ'd from Borlage in the above-mention'd page 64, were not peculiar to the Druids; tho' ours in the British islands, which only were meant in what we said of them p. 112, must be admitted to be, as there observ'd, undeniably druidical: But some monuments of this kind having been erected by the ancient Germans, who differ'd so effentially from the Druids in their religious customs, as to reject all altars and facrifices, we might hence also conclude, had we no other proofs, that those monuments were not originally defiging for religious purposes.—We have now only to add to these extracts from, and remarks on the sentiments of Toland, that he, inter alia, (1) takes notice of the many altars (as he calls them) and Cromlechs in Jersey, as well as in the other neighbouring issands, formerly part of the Duchy of Normandy, where we have already observed they are call'd Pouqueleys; and quotes p. 115 of Dr. Falle's account of Jersey, who there says, "They are great flat itones of vast bigness and weight; some oval, some quadrangular, raised 3 or 4 foot from the ground, and supported by others of a less size;" and thinks them evidently altars, "both from their figure, and great quantities of ashes found in the ground thereabouts." He moreover infers, from their flanding on eminences near the fea, that they might be "dedicated to the divinities of the This Toland difputes, and thinks "the culture of the inland parts is the reason why few of them are left, befides those on the barren rocks and hills on the fea-fide:" But perhaps better reasons might be given for this their fituation, than either he or the Doctor were aware of .- Dr. Falle adds, "At ten or twelve feet distance there is a smaller stone fet up an end, in manner of a desk; where 'tis supposed the priest kneel'd, and perform'd some ceremonies, while the facrifice was burning on the altar:" But the erection of fuch a stone, and at such a distance from the Cromleck, might be accounted for, without supposing them design'd for sacerdotal devotions." Description, p. 109 to 137.

(a) " This CROMLECH of DREWS TEIGN FON was first recommended to my notice by a worthy and judicious lady, who to her other amiable accomplishments has added a general knowledge of the antiquities of her country; and tho' that modefly which always accompanies real merit, and is of itself a filent testimony of it, with-holds the additional honour this page might receive from her name, yet gratitude no less forbids me here to pass over, unacknowledg'd, the helps to facilitate another undertaking, which I owe to the beneficence of the same patroness, by her procurement of of divers valuable manuscript copies of Risdon's and Westcot's surveys, mostly transcribed by Mr. Prince (author of the Worthies of Devon) with his own hand, and all under his direction; and were lately in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Authory Tripe .- Ignorant of any monument of the Cromlech-kind in Devonshire, till thus pointed out to me by my fair informant as well deferving the attention of the curious, it might otherwise have escaped that examination, whereof I am now to give the refult: But I afterwards observ'd it to be noticed as such in Mr. Donn's map of this county; whose engraver however, has there given it the form of a Greek  $\Pi$ , as if it had been a Druidical gallows for the execution of criminals.(2) - Being thus excited to a view of this Cromlech, and defirous of afcertaining its real form, some business in that neighbourhood soon after gave me an opportunity of feeing, and taking a rough sketch of it; but being then straiten'd in time, and having no other instrument with me but a pocket rule, I contented myself with only taking the length and breadth of its covering stone, and such other dimensions as might limit the angles, and enable me to plan the ground it cover'd, and the position of its three supporters; in which all I then observ'd remarkable (befides the inequality of their heights, by which the covering-stone has such an inclination as we have elsewhere taken notice of) was, as mention'd in the preface to this tract, that

(1) Ibid (2) This is not meant as a reflection on my friend Mr. Donn himfelf; who, supposing it were indeed so mark'd by him in the engraver's copy, might in the course of his survey only have a sight of it from some distant point of view; where the middle fulcrum happening to be in a line with one of the others, was hidden by it, and so only two such mark'd in his field-book. But more probably this was one among many errors of the engraver, left uncorrected in the proof sheets of the plates; which Mr. Dern, to my knowledge, sent to his friends in divers parts of the county, desiring their examination of them, and correction of any mistakes they might observe in them; but this being overlook'd, among other minutiæ, by such examiners of the plate it was in, (and which I also saw, but had not then seen the Cromlech,) 'tis no wonder, considering also the short time to which he is said to have been limited for its publication, that so minute a sigure in the crowd of others escaped his correction. Chapple.

their three edges were, at the furface of the ground, in a right line with each other; from whence I then indeed concluded there might be fomewhat more of geometrical exactness in its conflruction than was generally imagined; but had no idea of what now appears to have been the occasion of its erection, nor any the least doubt but that this, and all other such Druidical monuments were some way or other subservient to religious purposes; and perhaps some of them moreover defign'd for the sepulture of the dead, which among the Druids as well as other worshippers of the Pagan deities, was always accompanied with fome religious rites, fometimes with facrifices, and other ceremonies, more or lefs folemn, as custom and the honour and dignity of the deceased demanded. For the burial of the dead, was, by all nations, anciently esteemed one of the principal duties of religion, which, according to the accounts transmitted to us by all historians, was denied neither to friends nor enemies.(1) --- It has been before observed, that the covering or table stone of this, is, like those of most other Cromlechs, not truly horizontal, but, from the inequality of the heights of its supporters, appears as it were bent or bowed down at one end: but towards what point of the compass I had not observ'd when I took the rough plan abovemention'd, having then neither fun-shine nor compass by which to ascertain its bearings or position with respect to the cardinal points or otherwife. Afterwards, confidering with what views this its deviation from the horizontal level might possibly be design'd, if it were not wholly accidental; and recollecting that Cafar and other ancient writers had affured us that the Druids in Britain and Gaul, among other pagan deities, next to Mercury who was by them thought to claim their highest honours, had a particular veneration for Apollo or the Sun; I imagin'd, that if the part so depress'd were meant to betoken any such veneration for, or respect to, that luminary, it would probably be directed towards that part of the horizon where he rises: And to be satisfied whether this were the case here, I determin'd on a more accurate survey of the premises with proper instruments, by which being also enabled to take more truly the feveral angles, as also those which the sides would respectively make either with a magnetical or a true meridian line, its exact position in respect thereto would thence be truly afcertain'd. Accordingly on the 20th of August, 1777, I went a second time to view and more firstly examine it, taking with me a plain-table for its more exact admeasurement; this, with its needle and other usual apparatus, being the most proper instrument for such a purpose. But previous to this survey, I had to get removed a large quantity of dry ferns with which I found the whole area fill'd up, and closely stuff d in, as high as the covering or table-stone would permit, with an intent to be burnt there by the then Shiff in tenant, and their ashes to be used as manure: And altho' when freed from these, there still remain'd in the midst of the area a pretty large heap of ashes, the produce of some such former sacrifice to Ceres, which in some respects obstructed my proposed measures, - preventing my then taking as intended (but which has been also since done) the necessary dimensions for connecting the upper part of each fulcrum with a plan of the under furface of the table-stone, so as to ascertain their respective deviations from perpendicularity, and mark their bearing places; - and moreover conceal'd from my then notice some remarkable stones six'd into the ground,—yet the position of this ash-heap hinder'd not my taking the very true and exact ichnography not only of the table-flone itself, but also of the bases of its supporters, and what else was requifite to determine the area or ground-plot cover'd or overshadow'd by it, and at what heights respectively. And this I chose to do at a scale so large as would distinctly shew any distance measured, within less than a quarter of an inch at most. This being done, and a true meridian deduced from the magnetic, by allowing the same variation of the needle here at Shilfton as at Exeter, where it was at that time nearly 23°. 35' west, (2) this was presum'd sufficiently near the truth; it being not likely to have any sensible alteration in a distance of about ten miles only: Nor does any error of this fort appear on re-examination; for tho' it then happen'd to be a

(1) Vide Dinet in Funo, and the authors he cites,

<sup>(2)</sup> The variation (or as fometimes called the declination) or deviation of the magnetic needle from the true north point, is now well known to be itself continually varying, both with respect to time and place; being different in different places at the same time, and at different times in the same place: And tho' it was formerly easterly, the needle has long since passed the north, and in this part of the world now declines many degrees to the west of that point. At Exeter, on the 13th of March 1717-18, (O. S.) a judicious observer found it to be 13°, 20', westerly: On the 20th of May 1762, I sound it by observation increased to 21 degrees: In Nov. 1772 (as noted occasionally at that time in another work) it was further increased to 22°, and 3 quarters: On the 20th of August 1777 as above, it was estimated at 23°, 35'; and 18 months after (viz. in Feb. 1779), when it was become nearly 23°, 50°, was found by an azimuth at Shisson to be the same there, or very nearly so: And now, Aug. 17th 1779, I find by another observation of it at Exeter, carefully taken, by the help of an exact meridian line and a well-touch'd nine-inch needle, placed at a due distance from any iron liable to disturb it, that it wants but a very little of 24 degrees; viz. such a trisle as was but barely discernible with so short a needle, and could not appear less by above one 12th of a degree at most, had it been more nicely measur'd on a larger arch; but I had no opportunity of adjusting it by one of a longer radius. So I estimate the present variation here at Exeter to be 23°, 55', agreeable to the uniform increase resulting from former observations here, where it seems to be continually increasing (perhaps more regularly than is generally supposed) at the rate of 10 minutes and about 20 seconds annually, or 1 degree and 2 minutes in 6 years: And should it continue to increase thus regularly, the needle at and near Exeter, may be expected to point directly west about the year of Christ 2164, and to make a whole revolution in and about 209

cloudy day, and confequently no azimuth of the fun could be then and there taken to adjust it, it has been fince confirmed by one taken on the spot, which, allowing for the increase of variation in the mean time, shew'd it had been there, when the plan was taken, within a minute or two of the above-mention'd variation; or differing so little from it as to make no discernible difference in the geometrical projection at the scale above-mention'd. A meridian line being thus carefully adjusted to my field-map, this immediately evinc'd the futility of my conjecture before-mention'd; for in-Read of any bending down on the table-stone towards the rising sun, its lowest part appear'd to be fouth westerly, and so rather respecting the setting sun, and this at the winter solftice, when his light and heat is generally the least perceptible (tho' the Druids perhaps might deem this a fit season for gathering their idolized Missetoe, when, according to Bradley, its berries or feeds become ripe

for propagation)." Chapple's Description, p. 151 to 160.
"From all my observations, it is evident that the Drewsteignton Cromlech could not be primarily intended either as a religious structure, or a sepulchral monument, but was partly designed for sciatherical purposes, and in general as the apparatus of an ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY.——And of this, 'tis presumed, we shall be enabled to produce such proofs, as will be abundantly satisfactory, not only to proficients, but to any who have but the flightest acquaintance with the first rudiments of geometry and aftronomy.—But however plain this may be on a candid examination, I am aware how liable the most conclusive arguments are, to be oppugned by the sophistry of wrangling disputants; and how obnoxious the most unexceptionable, to the censure of some sceptical cavillers, who, inclined to doubt of every-thing, refolve to approve of nothing: whom even mathematical evidence will hardly convince; and who professing that Pyrrhonic Philosophy which may be acquired without learning or parts, and with little or no study, affect a Socratical negation of knowledge; complaining of the prevalence of error, the difguifes of truth, the imperfection of arts, and the vanity and incertitude of the sciences; and yet perhaps despising the only one that pretends and may justly lay claim to absolute certainty, lest it should happen to convict them of the absurdity of having subfituted ignorance and fcepticism for the perfection of wisdom, and oblige them unwillingly to acknowledge, that others enlightened by its lamp may fee farther and more clearly than themselves. Such as thefe, at first view of a geometrical plan so feemingly complex as one or more of those we are here to exhibit, may enter their caveat in the court of criticism against a too hasty determination in this matter: Their business being ever to demur, never to decide, we must not be surprized at any weak endeavours to support their plea for a suspension of judgment, by starting imaginary difficulties, and by the impertinence of cross questions and nugatory objections: Representing all attempts to reduce this rude monument of antiquity to regular form and geometrical exactness, as the mere effects of fancy; and alledging, that any other irregular production of bungling artifice, or even the fpontaneous disposition of natural rocks, which, freed from their interstitial and surrounding earth, had been left there in the form of such a Brobdingnag tripod as this, might by the like adjustment of lines, angles, and circles to it, be exhibited as a specimen of antient ingenuity and skilful contrivance; tho' it were in reality, either the mere fortuitous effect of chance, or the clumfy workmanship of some bungling fabricator .- Others, who may readily grant this piece of stone-work to be artfully constructed, and well adapted to its intended uses, whatever they were, may however, at first view of our plan, be apt to suspect, that all this geometrical parade is wrested and forced into regularity, to support a favourite notion or preconceiv'd hypothesis: since we want not instances of ingenious triflers and fanciful projectors, who, by the aid of a pregnant imagination and ready invention, will undertake to make anything out of anything; like the ale-house cook, who being required to dress the boots of an itinerant quack, hy order of his zany, and having, by slicing and mincing them fecundum artem, with proper additions for feafoning and fauce, transform'd them to a French fricasse, serv'd them up as a delicate dish for his Doctorship's supper. Nay, some venture yet farther, and assuming to themselves a creative power, boldly undertake to rival Omnipotence, by a practical resultation of the old maxim, Ex nibilo nibil sit; pretending, in virtue of a magic process peculiar to themselves, to deduce anything from nothing. —There is, it must be confess'd, a kind of antiquarian knight-errantry, which amuses itself with its own dreams. These, strongly impressing a prejudiced mind, the dreamer at length persuades himself must be somewhat more than the fports of fancy; indulges the infatuation; catches at every shadow of an argument to confirm himself in it; considering the phantom he has rais'd, in every point of view; and then introduces others to support it, and convince himself of its reality. Thus fascinated with the charms of imaginary objects, no wonder if he mistakes, like Don Quixotte, a windmill for a giant; a barber's bason

its annual progress to the westward, but also as to the regularity of gradual increase. This is evident from comparing the successive observations of Messes, Burrows, Gunter, Gellibrand, Bond, Dr. Halley, Mr. Graham, Dr. Bevis and others. They feem to have thought the variation to have increas'd or decreas'd more flowly; and fo contented themfelves with regift'ring the years of their observations, without mentioning at what time in each; whereas in order to determine accurately the law of such increase or decrease, and whether accelerated or retarded, the month at least, if not the day of observation, quight also to be known, and should be duly register'd for the information of future observers. However, enough appears from their dates to evince, that the variation at London has not varied uniformly; nor (if the accounts we have of it may be relied on) doth it feem to have always differ'd from that at Exeter by any certain or conftant quantity; the that difference has generally been from 2°. 48 or 50', to 2°. 55'. Chapple.

for the morion or defensive skull-cap of a Roman foot-soldier; an Irish bawn, for the quondam affembly-room of Druidical bards; or a ponderous old rat-trap, for the model of an ancient Catapulta. Positive in his adopted opinions, and confident in his own conjectures, a visionary of this fort starts not at common difficulties. Self-sufficiency supplies what ignorance denies; and a fanciful presumption, or happy guess, compensates for deficiency of evidence. o persons thus qualified, the fragments of unintelligible infcriptions, obliterated manufcripts, corroded coins, mutilated flatues, broken columns, &c. &c. are easily explicable, and as readily explain'd. Hence new and strange difcoveries are fometimes fuggefted, or abfurd hypothefes form'd, and no lefs fliffly maintain'd than prematurely adopted; however repugnant to the common fense and receiv'd notions of more sagacious inquisitors, relative to the laws, arts, policy, religion or learning of the ancients: And hence we are now-and-then amused with new models of their architecture; new codes of their laws; new rituals of their superstitions; new keys to their mythology, or new standards for regulating their history, and for stretching or curtailing their chronology. But in these, as well as in matters of less importance, in which these fantastic schemists are sometimes no less assiduous, when fancy and conjecture supply the want of authentic evidence, no wonder if their imperfect conceptions prove abortive, and their illogical conclusions from such disputable premises, frequently become subjects of ridicule and contempt. (1) Some of those dreaming wirtuosi, for instance, have pretended to fix the exact chronology of a supposed antique shield, among other of its properties, by the colour of its rust:(2) Others have busied themselves in bottling up air, for occasional supplies of it in atherial voyages, to have an infight into lunar antiquities, and a profpect of undifcover'd countries here; extending their boundless curiosity far beyond the clouds, and those gross vapors which here inflate the lungs of fublunary mortals; impatient of confinement to their own, tho' most forcibly attractive, sphere; and no longer acquiescing in that humbler (but to mechanicks more interesting) enquiry, whether the artificial sphere of Archimedes were wholly composed of brass, as Lactantius supposes (3); or whether, as suggested in an epigram of Claudian (4), its outside or casing at least, were not rather of transparent glass, like that of a modern globe-lanthorn. (5) --- Such are the reverles, not only of fome affuming smatterers in antiquity and pretended restorers of ancient arts, but sometimes even of more learned triflers on such subjects: And as such, some may be disposed to ridicule the production of a short-sighted novice in such researches as the present subject demands, and which would more properly exercife the speculations, and require the more penetrating inspection of perfons eminent for their erudition, long conversant in the works of the ancients, and well acquainted with the learning, the manners, and customs of different ages and nations. The attempt of any other, to account for the fabrication of fuch a relique of the remotest antiquity as we are now examining; and especially to discover an internal mark by which to judge of its age, ith no less certainty than a huntsman can that of a hart by his antlers and croches; may possibly be deem'd a prefumptuous encroachment on their prerogative, and not eafily escape the like scouring with Dr. Woodward's rubiginous shield .- But the cock in the fable, having chanced to find a jewel where he only fought a barley-corn, left greater connoifieurs to judge of its worth, and avail themselves of his discovery. And in like manner the present and, 'tis presum'd, first discoverer (for such he takes himself to be) of the real design and geometrical construction of the CROMLECH in question, chearfully fubmits bis to their better judgment, and to their candid correction of his overfights and mif-

<sup>(1)</sup> The reader who adverts to what has been inferted from Dr. Borlafe, will not mifunderfland anything here faid, as meant to cenfure or ridicule the laudable refearches, or acute fagacity of real antiquaries, or their having recourse to probable conjectures where certainty cannot be obtain'd; fince fuch conjectures frequently lead to more certain truths: granting they may be fometimes too far indulg'd, or even conduce to multiply errors; yet fuch abuses of any branch of feience, furnish no good argument against its general utility; nor is any thing like this, here intended. I have been speaking the language of an objector, and endeavour'd to state in its full force every foreseen objection to the account I am now to give of the Drew's Teignton Crowlech (against which account, even whilst in embryo, some such have been already, however prematurely, started); and before I proceed to exculpate myself from any charge of prejudice, or bigotry to the dictates of fancy or fiction, have here fairly admitted whatever may be plaufibly pleaded, from the failings of others in attempts of this kind, against any hasty conclusions concerning it; which in short, only amount to this: viz. That if not only pretended connoisieurs in such matters have had strange dreams, but real ones have sometimes nodded, and both perhaps merited reproof by the publication of visionary schemes; much more may one, who has no pretentions to the abilities or judgment of the latter, nor to the prolific imagination of the former, be liable to, and ought therefore to be cautious of incurring the like cenfure. - This must be readily granted. But the lowest pedlar in antiquity may chance to strike out lights, conducive to detect the mistakes, or to improve the differnment of the most learned: And we should blame the timidity of that pufillanimous farmer, who could be deterr'd from the cultivation and tillage of his own little fpot, by observing the luxuriant crops in richer and more fertile lands, to be here and there intermix'd with no less luxuriant weeds; or that the barrener foil of others was more productive of poppies than corn. The directions of reason and prudence in such cases would be, 'Let not floth or diffrust prevent the proper culture of any; and let the weeders have their due share of employment in all: but let them be cautious not to root up any part of the wheat, together with the tares and wild poppies.'

<sup>(2)</sup> See Pope's Memoirs of Scriblerus. (3) Instit. 1. 2, c. 5.

<sup>(4)</sup> Jupiter in parvo quum cemeret æthera vitro,

<sup>(5)</sup> See Huygens's Cosmotheoros; Wilkins's World in the Moon; and his Mathematical Magick, p. 164, 165.

(as he often faid) in describing them. (a) The first thing he mentioned was a most exact meridian line, made by the coincidence of the three supporters—that is, the outside edges of two, and the inside edge of the third, are so truly fixed on the meridian as could possibly be done by the most accurate astronomer. The next was the latitude of the place, which was shewn by some part of the Cromlech, even to the nearest minute; as were the fun's greatest meridian altitude in summer, the least in winter, and consequently the obliquity of the ecliptic-which last article afforded a most curious circumstance; for, by allowing the known diminution of the obliquity, he found that upwards of two thoufand two hundred years had elapsed since the Cromlech was erected. After describing these, and many other astronomical properties, he said he had lastly discovered, that the cover-stone was inscribable in an ellipsis. And that the Cromlech served also for gnomonical purposes, he had the most positive proof. For by its construction, he found that there was a certain point under the Cromlech, whence reflections should be cast; and, by removing the earth from that spot, he discovered a curious little triangular stone, which must have been placed there for that purpose. All this is wonderful indeed! But though I have the highest opinion of Mr. Chapple's diligence and integrity, yet I am apt to believe that his curious hypothesis, which might first be suggested by some fortuitous position of the stones, will not bear the test of cool and impartial examination. Were there any regular planes cut on the furface of these stones, we might suppose them designed to point out different phenomena of the fun and planets: but, as there is no mark of a tool on any of them (which, indeed, would profane them in the opinion of a Druid) I would as foon believe that the earth was formed by a concourse of atoms, as that four rude and shapeless ftones, to all appearance selected only for their magnitude, should exhibit an exact correspondence with every circle in the heavens. (b)

After

takes, if any; tho' he must expect the most strict and critical examination from those, who, disinclined to approve of whatever tends to depreciate the merit of their own discoveries, may be unwifling to recall that temporary coin which originated from their mint; and which having had the stamp of public credit and approbation, has hitherto pass'd current, but whose deficiency may be detected by the touchstone here offered for its trial.—For, among persons of found learning and acknowledg'd judgment, some who have been generally successful in their endeavours to brighten up the obscurity, and rub off the rust of antiquity, have yet condescended to form strange hypotheses, to account for the most difficult subjects that have puzzled preceding antiquaries; and fortifying them with all the plaufibility of argument and elegance of language, with which fuch literati can attract the attention of the most discerning, and conceal all defects and absurdities from the superficial inspector (who charm'd with the gilding, examines not the weight or folidity of the apparently sterling gold) scruple not to obtrude their visionary systems on the publick, as infallible regulators of historical truth. And as fuch perhaps, they may be for fome time accepted; and continue in vogue, 'till fome other inventive and penetrating genius treads the like fairy maze, subverts the enchanted castle of his predecessor, and erects another of his own, in a different taste perhaps, but on a no less unstable foundation. And this deceptio visus at length vanishes in its turn, when possibly some transient spectator, or curfory reviewer of the premifes, may happen accidentally to stumble on a demonstrative proof of the fallacy of all their plaufible schemes; throw a new and unexpected light on the subject; and free it from those mists by which it had long been obscured, and which men of more extensive difcernment had in vain attempted to dispel .- Partiality in favour of a beloved hypothesis must indeed be expected, as unavoidable in him or them who first promulged or adopted it, and who cannot be inclinable too hastily to abandon their own offspring, or such as they have taken into their paternal care and protection." Chapple's Description, p. 138 to 150.

(a) At which no person will wonder, who has seen the innumerable circles, lines, curves, &c. on

the plates defigned for his Book.

(b) With respect to the Lanyon Cromlech, Mr. Chapple expresses a wish "that it were reviewed and re-examined by some judicious person, such as the Rev. Mr. Hitchins of Marazion (a gentleman every way qualified for such an undertaking, and who, if I mistake not, resides within a very sew miles of Maderne, in which parish this and another Cromlech are situated); and that he would take the trouble of making an accurate plan of it, at a larger scale than that in Dr. Borlase's book; measuring also the exact height, not only of each supporter, but also of every part of the perimeter of the covering or table-stone; and taking such other dimensions, and making such requisite observations thereon, as may be suggested to him in the subsequent parts of this tract. Such a plan, and the observations of such a judge in geometrical and astronomical productions, with the inscrences naturally deducible from thence, would doubtless be acceptable to the curious; and we might thereby be enabled to ascertain in what particulars its construction differs from ours, as in divers respects it certainly does; tho' similar in others, and both, very probably, design'd for the like purposes."—

Chapple's

After all Mr. Chapple's curious disquisitions, I cannot but concur with Dr. Borlase in thinking, that the Cromlech was originally designed for a sepulchral monument. Its

Chapple's Description, p. 38, 39. This Mr. Hitchins has done: And he hath been so obliging as to favour me with his sentiments on the subject(1): "Mr. Chapple (fays Mr. H.tchins) thought he had made a wonderful difcovery of various aftronomical and gnomonical properties in the Cromlech at Drewsteignton, and he was about to publish a description of it with plates, &c. I know not whether you defign to fay much on that subject in your History or not; but if you think it an object worthy of your attention, as Mr. Chapple in his intended publication called on me to inform the public, whether Lanyon Cromlech, near Penzance, had the fame properties, I shall give you my fentiments on that subject. I have attentively examined the Cromlech at Lanyon, the most confiderable one in Cornwall, but cannot discover the least astronomical or gnomonical use to which it can be applied, not excepting even the simple contrivance of a meridian line, the first property Mr. Chapple observed in his Cromlech." The correspondent, from whose letter I have already made extracts relating to Chapple's Description, has an eye to the use of the Cromlech in the following remarks: "Moses, in his history, which I take to be most faithful (fince, exclusive of divine affist-ance, he drew his information from the Royal College of Ægyptian Priests, being educated as the royal offspring were) fpeaking of the descendants of Noah, mentions Nimrod, as being the first that began to be great—that is, founded a great kingdom, and who delighted in war and in hunting: He says that this was before the Affyrian monarchy, which came out of it, and that the place, at fift, of this monarchy, was Babel: and it was probably under his authority that the worship of Baal, or of fire, was instituted; which, in fact, was an act of idolatry like that of the Roman emperor's since; for it was a defication of limself—he being the son of Chus, who was the fon of Ham or Cham, which fignifying heat or fire, the natural emblem of this was the funat once the type of his power and of his descent: no wonder therefore that they instituted this worthip. The power of Babel had for its object the same worship, and further, the counteracting of the designs of providence, that they might flee to it in case of a second deluge, and that they might never be dispersed, or lose their home or language. They were, however, dispersed and deseated in their purpose: And it is to this remarkable event that the passage probably alludes, which says, that God spared not the angels of God, that is, the hely race of Noah, which could not but be reverenced by their descendants as angels or gods, on account of their supposed divine origin, but saft them out. The words are, αλλα επταρταρωσεν εαυτες—a very remarkable expression, which occurs but that once, and is generally understood to mean dispersed them; which words, added to the history of this empire, makes it probable that Nimrod founded his kingdom in Tartary; which, the learned admit, is derived from Tatar, which fignifies dispersion. From hence this monarch and descendants made the most extensive conquests, the memory of which is retained in the ancient, and supposed to be fabulous accounts of the conquests of Bacchus, which indeed was a proper deity to name and to ascribe it to, since Nimrod was the descendant of Chus, and from hence his kingdom was called the kingdom of the Scythian Tartars; for the Scuthi and the Cuthi are the same race. The original disperfion, the confusion of languages, and probably the cruelty of his conquests, scattered men much further than this. Some probably fled to America, which, it is now well known, was peopled from Tartary: and it is remarkable, that on the arrival of the Spaniards, the worship of Baal, or of the Sun, was the great national religion of the people of Chusco or Cusco. The Runic or Scandinavian annals also agree in declaring, that they were driven from the east by some great calamity: and the same people were probably spread, by degrees, to the more western parts of Europe. Wherever they went, they continued their original love of war and hunting, and the worship of Baal, or of the fun, or of fire, and of the bost of heaven, which, it is probable, they made also their more particular study. Wherever they went to, they erected fire towers in honour of Baal, and those other most stupendous structures, partly that they might for ever preferve their name and nation, partly that they might baffle the effects of time, and perhaps, as they hoped, even the divine vengeance; and partly that the folidity of these structures, and the almost inaccessible heights and fastnesses where they were erected, might preferve them from the fury of their enemies, and always afford them a retreat where they might exercise their rites in security. Of this species of structure, I am of opinion, is this Cromlech at Drewsfreignton; I mean that it is of Curbite, or as it was called by the Romans, Draidical origin, which has been the name adopted ever fince for them." I have thus, at the request of several of my subscribers and March 1988. ral of my fubscribers, permitted Mr. Chapple to accompany me in the notes, tedious and desultory as he is. To proceed, however, any further with Mr. Chapple, is impossible. He is now entering, after all the dulness of his generalities, into a particular examination of his astronomical instrument. In this examination he refers continually to his plates. Several of these plates, however, are lost.(2) Yet even by their affistance, it would be extremely difficult to unravel Mr. Chappie's

<sup>(1)</sup> In a letter dated St. Hilary, 3d August 1790.
(2) Mr. Chapple's daughter, Mrs. Bulkley, of Starcross, has one or two of the plates. The others, the says, were mishaid: nor does the think it possible to recover them.

general figure and the fize of its area, feem to fuggest this idea. Not that the coveringfrone or the supporters were intended to secure the dead from violence. They are but ill-calculated

meaning. His two learned friends, Mr. Hitchins and Mr. Hugo, have both repeatedly affured me, that they could never follow Mr. Chapple through the maze of his aftronomical discoveries, even with the united aid of the written description, of the plates to which it referred, and of his own oral explanation. "The plates (Mr. Hitchins fays) were so extremely complex, that if they were now before us, to retrace Mr. Chapple's ideas, would be impracticable." In all his writings, in short, Mr. Chapple is involved: and often, in the moments of perplexity, have I thus addressed his shade:

By thee, we dim the eyes and stuff the head, With all such reading as was never read:

By thee, explain a thing till all men doubt it,
And write about it, Chapple! and about it:
So spins the Silk-worm small its slender store,
And labours till it clouds itself all o'er.(1)

That Mr. Chapple's admirers, however, may not complain of my having supprest any part of his Cromlech MSS. I shall here prefent them with the Preface which he meant to prefix to the curious treatife in question: " This tract owes its present publication more to accident than to any premeditated defign: For, although fome notice of the DREWS-TEIGNTON CROMLECH was intended in another work, and to that end I had, some years since, taken a transient view of it, and such of its dimensions as might the better enable me to give some general description of it, as the only Druidical monument of its kind in this county; my then intention was, to refer to Dr. Borlase and others for further particulars concerning fuch structur . Indeed I then observed, that three edges of its supporters were nearly in the same right line; and therefore suspected there might be somewhat more of geometrical nicety in its construction than its rough and irregular appearance would induce an incurious observer to imagine; but had not the least idea of its being accommodated to the purposes mentioned in the following sheets, or to any other of a similar kind; taking for granted this apparently rude monument of remote antiquity was some structure subservient to the Druidical worship of our British ancestors, and sacred to some or other of the pagan deities. What induced me afterwards (viz. in August 1777) to take a more exact plan of it, and ascertain its situation in respect to the points of the compass, will be noted in its place, and need not be enlarged on, here: At which time, having with proper instruments, carefully observed and adjusted its dimensions, bearings, angles, and, in thort, every-thing requifite to delineate the true ichnography of it, as also the exact heights of its supporters, &c. some avocations to other affairs, and an afflicting family event which happened foon after, obliged me to defift, for the prefent, from any minute examination of its properties: So that my field-map, and other papers relative to it, were laid by, uninfpected, for a whole year; till an occasional revisal of those papers, and a few days accidental interruption of my other work beforementioned, and which I had for some time resumed, induced me to review and examine the whole. This led me gradually to the discovery of some properties in it, which left no room to doubt of the original use and design of this antiquated fabrick; and tho' the seeming irregularity of some of its parts, and the position and proportion of others, in some measure tended to entangle and perplex the subject, yet having once got the clue, this, with the unexpected help of a master-key which I chanced to meet with by the way (I mean the Vitruvian Analemma), facilitated the fearch; all difficulties vanish'd, and I was soon enabled to unravel the whole. For every step I took, open'd unexpected views, all tending to confirm and demonstrate the rectitude of the former; and every calculation, when compared with the actual measures of the Cromlech itself, bore witness to the accuracy of its plan, and the boldness and elegancy of its construction. My first discoveries of this fort, whilst yet unaffished by this key, being communicated to some respectable friends, they advised me to pursue my enquiries concerning it; as being, in their judgment, from what had hitherto appeared on the fubject, a new and not unimportant discovery: And tho' it might for some little time interrupt my progress in the work I had before undertaken, yet instead of reserving it for a proper place in that, persuaded me not to delay publishing the result of my disquisitions concerning it, as a separate

(1) The following Letter from the late Lord Courtenay to Mr. Chapple, plainly intimates his Lordship's apprehensions, that his steward would not easily diffipate this cloud of science.

Chapple,

I this afternoon received your letter with your further remarks on the Cromlech. I faw it last Saturday, in my way between Kerslake and Moreton, entirely free from all ashes or rubbish whatever. I could not avoid viewing it with pleasure, when I considered that the structure was a means of affording not only utility to those who raised it, but of informing us, they were less ignorant in many mathematical observations than they have hitherto received credit for: I must consess that what you showed me carries with it both truth and conviction; I only hope it will make its appearance soon and very soon, being convinced that you will gain great credit form the discovery. I wish you would be expeditious, as I am rather apprehensive your scheme is not so much concealed as I could wish.

I am, &c. COURTENAY.

ill-calculated for protecting the dead from the inclemencies of the weather, or any other injury. There is fomething of grandeur in the construction of the Cromlech; which was probably

tract. And indeed, it foon appear'd, the subject would require a longer differtation than could with any propriety be inferted in any review of the county at large: and I the more readily acquiefced in its more immediate submission to public inspection, as having a full affurance that, as it carried its own evidence with it, it would, like other truths, appear the more conspicuous, the more strictly it should be scrutinized. A separate tract being thus resolv'd on, it became requisite, however, to introduce it by some sew particulars relative to the parish and farm in which the CROMLECH is fituated; fince their names, and those of their supposed possessors in former ages, at least so far claim'd notice as obliquely reflecting some light on the subject: But no more of these, or the etymologies of fuch names, are here enlarged on, than appear to have either an immediate, or at least fome remote tendency thereto; this principal object of my enquiry being still kept in view. This indeed had been hitherto much clouded in obscurity; but the accidental spark now struck out, I imagined, might, if duly improved, conduce to its further illustration: And tho' in abler hands it might doubtless be kindled into a brighter flame, such as would add much to its brilliancy, yet it feem'd to invite even such feeble endeavours as mine, to make the best use I could of the favourable opportunity that offered, in some measure to dispel that gloom which had more or less bewilder'd former enquirers. This invitation I could not well refift; and having fortunately met with an unerring guide to conduct me in my refearches, and open a way to a clearer view of the object before me, I could not thut my eyes against that irrefistible light that pour'd in upon me. Such accidental discoveries have little or no claim to be confider'd as meritorious: If any thing in this tract can have pretentions of that fort, 'tis the care and diligence with which I have purfued the clue thus accidentally acquired; which has cost me some time and trouble indeed, but this mixt with pleasure and fatisfaction to find, among the innumerable properties more or lefs remarkable that fucceffively offer'd themselves to observation in this seemingly rough but really well executed piece of ancient workmanship, every newly-discovered one harmoniously concorded with, and conduced more fully to confirm the former, and the confummate ingenuity of the artifts who contrived it. Of this, many remarkable inftances will appear, in the descriptive part of it, in the following sheets; to which, were it necessary, a far greater number might be added. Purity of style, and elegance of diction, must not here be expected: nor would the subject admit of it, were the author capable of superadding embellishments of that kind. Language rough and unpolish'd as the Cromlech itself, may be fufficiently intelligible in a description of it, provided it be free from ambiguities and nonsenfical phrases: These I have endeavoured to avoid, perhaps sometimes by too much circumlocution; my aim being to render the whole as plain and intelligible as I could, to all forts of readers, even to those who have been little conversant with such subjects. The mathematical parts indeed, and some etymological enquiries, may not be fo well relished or understood by some: But these may see enough to satisfy them in general, that such a Cromlech as ours is a work of art and ingenuity, and not of chance or caprice, as some have imagined it to be. Even a bare inspection of the plates will afford them some evidence of the contrary. And, for the sake of the English reader, nothing is here cited in another language, but what is explain'd, or its substance and purport inserted in plain English either in the text or notes. The notes here and there interspersed, may serve to relieve the reader from a too close and constant attention to so dry a subject: Some of them indeed necessarily relate to it; and the rest, tho' digressive, yet not so wholly unconnected with it, or remote from it, as to lose fight of, or impede a feasonable recurrency to it. And tho' fuch Gromlechs as ours will here appear applicable to, and were doubtless originally design'd for, such uses as seem to have been hitherto unsuspected, at least by any writer I have seen on the subject; yet no fanciful hypotheses are here obtruded on the reader, or forcibly wrested into a conformity with any preconceiv'd opinion of the proposer relative to the Cromlech in general, or to that we have here undertaken to describe; fince the nature of its construction, and the purposes for which it was contrived will, it is presumed, fully and clearly appear from its own internal evidence, and on due examination afford fuch full and fatisfactory proofs of the care and skill of the artists by whom it was erected, and how nicely accommodated to the purposes for which it was intended, as to preclude all cavils and disputes concerning it; except perhaps those, who, prejudiced in favour of some adopted hypothesis, are determined to oppose all evidence inconsistent therewith. Should we chance to meet with an old time-piece, that on diligent inspection, appear'd to have every part fitted for the indication of hours and minutes, and duly proportionate to them, tho' the workmanship were antique, and perhaps deemed too clumfy to fuit a modern tafte, and in fome respect awkwardly constructed;—or find some fragment of a collection of aftronomical tables, in which every particular, when examin'd by first calculation, appear'd truly to adjust the places of the planets, tho' perhaps its title and some introductory pages were wanting; furely we should not hesitate to conclude them originally detign'd for those purposes respectively: and would be apt to laugh at the folly of that man who should pertinaciously insist, that the one was no more than a paltry childish play thing, and the other a mere promiscuous and random jumble of characters and figures, to amuse and deceive the ignorant, and answer the collusive purposes of a preprobably meant to do honor to the deceased. And the size of its area very well agrees with the dimensions of the human body. In the mean time, we should recollect that the Kistvaen is but a Cromlech in miniature: and the Kistvaen is a sepulchral chest. Besides, the relics of the interred have been frequently discovered in the area of the Cromlech. But the Cromlech was not a common burying-place: It was the sepulchre of a chief Druid, or of some prince, the favourite of the Druid order. Hence the Cromlech acquired a peculiar degree of holiness: And(a) sacrifices were performed, in view of it, to the manes of the dead.

From the usual situation of the Cromlech, we must doubtless perceive, that it is no ordinary monument of the Druids. At Drewsteignton, the Cromlech is placed on an elevated spot—overlooking a facred way, and two rows of pillars that mark out this processional road of the Druids, and several columnar circles; whilst at the end of the down, there are rock-idols, that frown with more than usual majesty. Nor are the Logan-stones and rock-basons of Drewsteignton and Chagford, at any considerable distance. Thus we have, even now, an opportunity of surveying in assemblage, almost all the monuments of Druidism, near the "(b) town of the Druids upon the Teign." And this Druidical scenery seems to have been included in a circuit of about twenty miles.

From these observations on the relics of Druidism in Danmonium, it appears that we can boast no structures like the temple of Stonehenge; though several, indeed, of the monuments before us are marked by the same style of wild magnificence. Rude grandeur, not graceful elegance; gigantic massiness, not beautiful proportion; was, every where, the character of the eastern architecture: And such traits of the Asiatic genius

are as obvious in the Cromlech of Danmonium, as in those ruins, which

Oft-times amaze the wandering traveller,

By the pale moon discern'd on Sarum's plain. (c)
The most perfect temple of the Druids hath been represented by some writers, as a deep recess in the centre of an ancient wood. And this Druidical wood has been placed on an eminence. (d) Tacitus describes such a wood as enclosed by a sence of pallisadoes: And, sometimes, the whole mountainous wood was surrounded at the bottom by a vallum. The Druids had certainly no covered temples: But Stonehenge is a striking specimen of a Druidical temple, erected on a regular plan. And nothing is more probable, than that such a temple once existed at Drewsteignton. Not that I can trace at this moment, with an ingenious correspondent, "the ruins of a very great temple at Stickle-path near Zeal-Monachorum, not far from Drewsteignton; the fragments of which (he says) are scattered through the village and over the sides of the mountain on which it was probably erected." The same gentleman declares, that "the Valley of Stones is filled with the stupendous ruins of some Cuthite or Druid temple—where there was a banging-sione (so characteristic of these structures) till the wind blowing down a great mass of the ruins.

tended fortune-tellers conjuring-book. Yet some such bigots to their own crude notions may be expected: And it were in vain to use arguments with those, who will never acknowledge themselves convinc'd that their judgment has deceived them. Such opinionists are best left, like madmen, in quiet possession of their own wild conceits and visionary systems. But having carefully scrutinized every inch of the Gromlech in question, to guard against all mistakes concerning it, I am fully persuaded that any rational and unprejudiced person, who will take the pains and care to examine the whole, will be no less convinc'd of the general design of this ancient structure, and on what principles it was evidently constructed: Yet, however certain of these, I pretend not to be less liable than another to mistakes in the application of those principles to some particular parts of it: But whatever sips or mistakes may have escaped me in these or any other particulars, being not desirous of deceiving myself or others, I shall always be glad to see rectified by more accurate observers, and ready to retract any error, which, in this or any other production of mine, may be fairly detected."

(a) Rowlands, in his Mona Antiqua Restaurata observes, that as our first colonists were probably no more than five descents from Noah, they certainly brought with them the mode of worship by sacrifice: And, as so awful an event as the destruction of the world was then recent, and their minds impress with a deep sense of an invisible and irresssible power, it was natural for them to erest altars where-ever they sojourned during their peregrinations, and to multiply them where they took up their abode. Of these altars he supposes the Cromlech to be the remains: And he conjectures, that Gromlech is derived from the Hebrew Caremluach, a devoted stone or altar.

(b) Dinis-teign-ton. It is remarkable, that there is a Teignton-Drew or Steignton-Drui near Bristol,

where Governor Pownall discovered very strong vestiges of the Druids.

(c) See Dr. Stukeley's Description of Stonehenge.

(d) See Section III. p. 33.

ruins, the end of one piece of rock fell against this stone; and it is now quite immove-

able."(a)

This much for the ages of primitive Druidism. In subsequent times, the Phenicians, Greeks, and Belgic settlers erected, also, their facred edifices: Of such, however, we have no vestiges in Danmonium; unless the lamp which was found some years since, at Exeter, hath any connexion with a Phenician or Grecian temple. This lamp is of brass, and has the crescent or half-moon as represented in Montfaucon: And it is generally conceived to have belonged to a temple of Diana. "Upon the coast of Cornevall and Devonshire, I find a Promontory, says Sammes, called Hercules his Promontory by Ptolemy, and called to this day Herty-point, containing in it two pretty towns, Herton and Hertland, whereof Herton is the greater, and corruptly called Harton. Now as I will not aver as ever Hercules was here and named it so, as Franciscus Philelphus and Lileus Geraldus aver, because Mr. Camden says there were three and forty Hercules's, as Varro will have it, he cannot admit of one of them to arrive at this point. Well let it be so, though I think Diodorus Siculus, nor any of the Greeks, to be competent judges of the voyages of the Phænicians, yet I do believe that the Phænicians rather than the Grecians might give it the name, and build some temple in honour of their own Hercules, as he almost got the honour of the temple in the Streights, so has he almost robbed the Phænician

Hercules of this also."(b)

There is one British monument in Danmonium, still remaining to be described, I mean the Barrow or Burrow; which I have referved for this place, as it was equally common in this country, to all the settlers before the Roman Period, and afterwards, to the Romans themselves, to the Saxons, and to the Danes. But, on examining the Barrow, we may often judge by its contents to what people it belonged. Barrows are found in most counties, and were primarily intended for protecting the remains of the dead. Among the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, we have various instances of this ancient monument. We read in Livy, that Claudius Nero buried his own foldiers after this manner, in the second Punic war: And Cæsar Germanicus brought the first turf himself, to raise the Barrow over the fallen troops of Varius. This mode of interrment prevailed in all the northern kingdoms. But, no where, are Barrows found in greater number than in this island. These monuments are called Kairns, or Karnes, if consisting of stone materials; and Crigs (in British, round heaps) from their circular plan; and Burrows, from their use, as Burrow signifies a sepulchre: Barrows, however, is their more general name. It was commonly on the third day after the funeral-pile had been fired, that they, who were to construct the Barrows, proceeded to collect the bones and heap together the materials; which were either a quantity of stones, or earth only, or stones and earth mixed together. The stones, in some of these monuments, are of an astonishing magnitude. In the construction of the plain Barrow, the original defign was nothing more than to keep up the earth or stones as high as the base would bear. Hence was produced a conic figure—the most simple and the least subject to injury from time or violence. There were Barrows more artificial—some surrounded by a single row of stones that formed the base—others with a ring of earth—some having a large flat stone on the top—others, a pillar—some encircled both at the top and bottom, with stone or earth and others planted with oak or beech. If these monuments were for private persons, they were generally placed near the public roads: If the sepulchres of soldiers, they were commonly thrown up on the field of battle, where the foldiers fell; and on those plains, that have been the scenes of military action, they are often found in straight lines, as regular as the front of an army. We sometimes meet with the Barrow in a valley; but more frequently on a hill or plain. The fize of these sepulchral works was various: That of Ninus, near the city of Nineveh, was, according to Ctesias, nine furlongs in height, and ten in breadth. In this country, Silbury-Hill is one of the most extraordinary works of the ancient Britons; though but a mole-hill compared to the Affyrian monument. In most instances,

<sup>(</sup>a) Mr. Badcock feems to have been of opinion, that "those ancient pillars at Combe-Martin, that were called the Hanging-stones, (1) were some Druidical remains of a temple: And the Hanging-stone is the Stonebenge or Balanced-stone, which was remarkable in all these edifices. It is faid, that there is but one pillar lest—which served as a boundary between Combe-Martin and the adjoining parish."

(b) Sammes, p. 56.

<sup>(1)</sup> Not from a sheep-scaler's having been hanged there, according to the filly tradition of the neighbourhood.

instances, the fize of the Barrow was determined by the quality of the deceased. This mode of burial was so universal, that it will be almost impossible to say to what nation any Barrow belonged; unless the interior parts of it should furnish criteria to affist our determinations. In some Barrows urns were reposited; in others were round or square pits, containing a black greafy mould, without urns; in others, skeletons, that shewed no signs of having passed through the fire. The contents of British and Phenician Barrows were, probably, much alike: these were the ashes of the dead, enclosed in urns more or less polished, or little repositories instead of them. In the Grecian and Roman Barrows, we may look not only for urns, but frequently for pavement underneath. The Saxons and Danes (we are told) had left off the custom of burning the bodies of the deceased, before their arrival at this island; though they continued to bury their dead under earthen hillocks. So that Barrows, containing unburnt bodies or skeletons (with neither urns nor cells) may be Saxon or Danish. After all, however, these are very uncertain criteria. The urns defigned to contain human bones, were of gold, filver, brass, marble, or glass; but, more frequently, of pottery ware. The urn was deposited in the middle of the Barrow; and, not unfrequently, another-near the outward edge. The urn at the extremity was, I suppose, that of the person who had a desire to be entombed in the same Barrow with a deceased relation or friend. Two or more urns were sometimes placed round the central sepulchre. And, indeed, there have been inftances of no less than fifty surrounding the principal urn. The urn was generally placed erect on its bottom, and covered with a flat stone or tyle. The Druids applied these Barrows to various purposes. On the Stone-barrows, especially where there was a large flat stone on the top, they kindled their annual fires; and the enclosed Earth-barrows, they used as altars for facrifice, or places of inauguration. Here too, they pronounced their decrees, and made the most important decisions, as from a facred eminence. (a) In Danmonium, there are numerous Barrows on the Jugum Ocrinum, and on each fide of this chain of mountains. They told me (fays Dr. Stukeley) of a great Karne or heap of stones, on Black-Down, called Lapper-stones, probably a sepulchral monument. On the northern extremity of Hemyock, towards Wellington, there is a large Barrow, composed of flints: it is called Symonsborough, as is the estate on which it stands, and the next estate adjoining to it. The common people have a notion that a king called Symon was buried there. The tradition of the country plainly shews, that it was the burial-place of fome person or persons of eminence. On the right side of the turnpike-road leading from Columbton to Honiton, over Kentsmoor, are two Barrows, contiguous to each other. are Barrows also on East-hill, near the town of Ottery St. Mary. On Haldon there are a great number of Barrows, particularly on the Kenne fide; formed, for the most part, of flinty stones; several of which are, at this time, the reputed boundaries between the Lords of the neighbouring lands: Thus they have generally been considered as Termini, and neglected as sepulchral monuments. On the 29th of May, 1773, some workmen upon Haldon discovered an urn in a large oblong stone heap, from the middle of which, they had taken a confiderable quantity of flints, for repairing the road that leads over the down from Kenneford to Newton-Bushel. This Tumulus is situated near the Kennesord road, about thirty perch to the eastward of the eighth mile-stone from Exeter. The urn was four feet deep from the crest of the Tumulus, and let into the solid earth beneath, to the depth of half a foot: It was covered with an irregular stat stone, about sive inches thick. It consisted of earthenware, evidently baked. The workmen, fancying the urn to be a crock of money, instantly broke it with their shovels into several pieces: These pieces were in thickness about three-fourths of an inch. The interior diameter of the urn itself, taken in the most bulging part of its curvature, was at least ten inches: And its height was about fourteen inches, as well as Mr. Chapple could judge from the fragments. The workmen eagerly grasped its contents in handfulls; but found themselves only in possession of a greafy kind of ashes, that smelt like soot. Among the ashes were some finall fragments of bones. There was a yellowish tinge on the urn, and the slints above it; which the workmen positively afferted to be gold, disolved and evaporated through the vessel. This was afterwards found (by a microscope) to be a diminutive mass, bearing yellow flowers, with a few black and globular berries. On this large Tumulus, which measured twelve feet in length, and twenty-eight in breadth, a further fearch was made the

<sup>(</sup>a) For curious information on the subject of fepulchral Tumuli, see Pennant's Tour in Wales—p. 381 to 388.

fame year, on the 28th of June, when a fecond and third urn were discovered. The fecond urn was at the distance of fourteen feet from the spot where the first lay; and the third urn twelve feet distant from the second. These urns, also, contained a black and greafy kind of ashes; and in each of them about a handful of splintered bones. The interior diameter of the second urn, as it stood in the ground, was full thirteen inches; its depth below the furface of the ground being nearly the fame, and the whole height of the urn about eighteen inches: But this could not be exactly ascertained; as its neck above the furface of the ground was so rotten, that it mouldered into dust, on the removal of the stones which surrounded and covered it. Of the third urn, no dimensions could be taken; for, on emptying it of the ashes, it quickly fell to pieces. These two urns seem not to have been so well manufactured as the first; which was so little decayed, that it might have been preserved entire, but for the accident I have mentioned. This vessel was composed of a dark grayish clay, found in some parts of Haldon, and afterwards dipt in a brighter brown composition, by way of glaze; and then ornamented with several figures, before it was burnt or baked. The latter part of the process must have been done in some mould; the basket-work towards the bottom being regular and distinct: And the like regularity appears in the other decorations. At a small distance from this Tumulus, to the northward, is a large circular Tumulus; the diameter of which is fixty feet. A continuation of flinty stones under the mossy turf, shews that there was some connection between these Tumuli. This circular Tumulus might have been the burial-place of superior officers. We may observe, that the circular Tumuli on Haldon, are true circles, and the periphery of their bases regularly footed up with stone. Not long after this, Mr. Tripe, late furgeon at Ashburton (whose ingenuity and various learning entitle him to a place among the literary characters of Devon) undertook to examine several of the Haldon-Barrows; into the centre of which he made fections, and found them all to be uniform in their structure: His hopes were, however, not gratified in this pursuit: For, though in some of these Barrows he found pieces of urns wrapt up in moss, and particularly in one of them, a shoulder-bone of a child, met with nothing by which he might venture to decide upon their antiquity. A gentleman who accompanied Mr. Tripe on this expedition, thus proceeds with the narrative: "We refolved upon renewing our pursuits, merely for a single trial more: and the Barrow we pitched upon, was one of the most apparent eminencies on the down; that which is the present reputed boundary between the parishes of Kenton and Kenne, not far from the head of Holloway-lane, leading from the down towards Oxton. We called together a regiment of labourers, and made a bold attack upon this Barrow, through which we made a wide opening, home to the center; but meeting with nothing to reward our defires (except an exact uniformity of construction with all the others we had before opened) we then agreed to give up our searches, and were nearly upon departing: But, before we difmissed our labourers, I happened to clean away the base of the Barrow, near the center, and at last discerned a very large flat-headed stone, quite even with the ground upon which the Barrow was erected: I imparted this to my friend; and, on viewing it more nicely, we found ourselves once more quickened in our hopes. Mr. Tripe then undertook to keep off all the labourers, except a couple to affift me in starting and getting up this cap-stone: And under it I found an urn, compleat and uninjured, with its mouth downward, resting upon another large flat stone. I took it very carefully up, and delivered it to my friend: and under the urn we found the bones and ashes of the deceased. Gratified as we were by this discovery, we had, however, the mortification still to remain ignorant as to its antiquity; for it happened to be an unbaked urn, without any inscription or other marks to assist us in deciding upon it. It was in shape, much like a Barnstaple or Bideford butter-pot: and I left it with my friend Mr. Tripe, in whose custody it probably still remains." This urn is, at present, in the possession of the Rev. John Swete, (a) of Oxton-House, who is animated, and at the same time exact in the following description: "Quitting the grounds of Oxton, we rode up Holloway-lane, and having mastered an ascent of a hill, emerging from a deep defile, we gained the level heights of Haldon. Turning short to the right, we inspected a large Barrow, known by the name of the great stone-heap; which, though originally of a conical form (as are all the Tumuli in these parts) yet, being now intersected by an opening made some time before, afforded a very conspicuous object to the subjacent country. The form of this Barrow was nearly circular, being rather more than two hundred feet in cir-

<sup>(</sup>a) Son of the late Mr. Tripe, of Ashburton. Vol. I.

cumference, and about fifteen in height. By the aid of fourteen men, a passage into it was effected, almost due east, about eight feet wide : Nearly at the same space from the margin, was discovered a dry wall, about two feet high, which was separated from without by very large stones, in the form of piers or buttresses. On arriving near the center, were seen a great many large stones (all of them slint) placed over one another in a convex form; and, in the middle thereof, a large stone nearly round, two feet in diameter, six inches thick, covering a cell on the ground about two feet square, formed by four large stones placed on their edges. In this was an urn (inverted, which was rather remarkable) containing the ashes and burnt bones of probably a youth; as they were small, with little muscular impression. When the urn was removed, these appeared as white as snowλευχα ος τεα—though, foon after they were exposed to the air, they lost that whiteness. From the fize of the Tumulus, and this circumstance, we may gather, that they were the remains of a person of dignity; whose surviving friends, in honor of his memory, had taken care to have them well burnt and blanched by the intenseness of the fire. The urn is thirteen inches high, ten in diameter at the top, five at the bottom, near half an inch thick, and holds about ten quarts. It is made of unbaked earth, smoked and discoloured by its exposure to the fire, and consequently without inscription or embellishments." In a high field, called Caftle-Park, in Hennock, I met with a finall earth-work, which is evidently sepulchral. Its shape is elliptical: and its round is formed of small stones. The (a)clergyman of Hennock, a short time afterwards, sent me the following account of it. "We opened the hillock that you suspected might be a Tumulus. After the small acre-stones were taken away, we found earth and stones regularly laid on: the earth used was the vegetable soil. The stones were flat, and some of them of considerable size. We found the hillock thus formed, till we came four feet and half deep, when we perceived the stones to lie a contrary way: and we suspected some pavement; but upon removing all the top, we found only three stones placed on edge, and let down about half their depth into the fast. The two side stones were of the same size; their ends in a straight line, and their upper furface level with the middle stone: they were placed, north and fouth. When we came thus far, we hefitated whether we should let them remain: we removed them, and funk into the fast, but could find nothing. The two side-stones were thirteen inches, the middle one three feet two inches." There are several circular stone-heaps in the neighbourhood of this earth-work. On the opposite hill to the east is the old Beacon, about half a mile distant from the Castle-field. On opening one of the sepulchral inonuments a few years fince, upon Maredown, in the parish of Moreton, were found ashes, burnt wood, and pieces of earthen wessels, the fragments of urns. The greater number of the Barrows which I have noticed, confift chiefly of stone; which might have been collected, as convenience led, from the adjacent grounds, where the fcantiness of earth would have rendered the operation more laborious. On the wild downs of Withecombe, and the furrounding parishes, the Tumuli invariably consist of moor-stone. There are several stone Barrows in the parish of Issington. But on Quarnell-Down, there is a most magnificent Barrow; such as a numerous army might have been some time employed in raising. The circumference of the Barrow, is ninety-four paces. Here, probably, in the centre, were deposited the remains of some great personage—perhaps a British Prince; for the discovery of which we need not dig deep, as in the central part there is very shallow earth. There is a large circle of high heaped stones, loosely thrown around this Barrow; under which were buried, perhaps, the bodies of the Prince's relations; or of those, possibly, who fell with him in battle. A vast deal of stone is scattered about the down, in the neighbourhood of this burial-place. There is another immense Barrow on Quarnelldown, confifting entirely of small loose stone. On Hazwell-down near Ashburton, is a very large stone-heap. And on Dartmoor, and on Roborough-downs, near Plymouth, are a variety of karnes. On the north-side, also, of the Jugum Ocrinum, we might investigate a great number of Barrows. There are large accumulations of stone, in various parts of the forest of Exmoor. The parish of Northmolton is separated from Exmoor by stones set in the ground, along the summit of the hills. On these hills are a number of Barrows; feven of which are within or near the limits of Northmolton. They are confused heaps of earth and stone, overgrown with moss. The people in the neighbourhood say, they were simply land-marks; but they were, doubtless, burying-places. Lyttelton discovered many Barrows in the north of Devon; though it does not appear,

<sup>(</sup>a) Mr. Hill; one of the best informed, and at the same time, most communicative of my correspondents.

that either himself or Milles, his brother antiquarian, made the slightest use of the discovery. "(a) I met (says he) with two or three Barrows on Bratton-down, near Arlington; and so many large ones on Berry-down, that I suspect they gave name to the place.(b) The five hills, or rather the billy ridge with five swellings, on the summit above the down of Ilfardcombe, is so singular a configuration of ground, that I would have given a good deal to have been able to draw it."(c) Mr. Badcock takes notice of "a fine Barrow,

(a) In a letter to Milles, dated July 17, 1756. As Lyttelton and Milles were both Deans of Exeter, and as Lyttelton was Bishop of Carlisse, I have thought proper, in several places, to mention their plain names, lest, by giving them different titles at different times, I should occasion perplexity; or, by attempting to avoid perplexity, I should be guilty of circumsocution; or, by endeavouring to steer clear of both, I should fall into anachronisms.

(b) A gentleman, who lately visited the north of Devon, thus informs the author: "Proceeding to Parracombe, at the center of the village, I turned out of the Ilfracombe road, and by a rough afcent rising towards the fouth, I attained the high ground of Rowleigh-Common; over which having rode for three miles, nearly on quitting It I perceived, on the west of the track, a large Burrow, which had been opened in several places, and was in diameter above one hundred seet. Its situation was contiguous to the lonely farm of Carbrocken Burrow, deriving its name from the Tumulus in question."

(c) Westcote speaks of several Barrows in the north of Devon: "At the north end of the towne

ffalls in the ryveret called Yeo or North Yeow which springs at Challucomb, als Chaldecomb, sometyme the land of William de Rawleigh now of Hatch. In this parish being bordering on the fforrest of Exmoore are dyvers round Hillocks of earth, and stones antiently cast vp, which they terme Burrowes and diftinguish them by names which I can imagine to be nothing else but monuments of fome interments of persons of note slayne at some battayle or skirmige. of some of them there are yet remembred old tales, how fierie dragons or meteors have often been feen to light on them: bee pleased to heare this that happened within these 6 or 7 yeares verifyed by the partye and credited for his honestye. A dayly labouring man having gotten a little money, bestowed it for some acres of land & thereon began to build an house, which was not farr from one of those Borrowes named Broken Borrowe, whence hee tetcht his stones to build withall, and having digged into the bowels of this hillock, hee found a small place as if it had been an oven fayrely, strongly and closely walled up, which put him in very joyful hope, that some great good happ had befallen him, and that hee should finde fome treasure to maintayne him more liberally in his old age. and breaking an hole in the wall where in the concavitie hee espied an earthen pott (some Vrne I thinke) and fastning his hand thereon, hee fodainly heard or feemed to heare the noyfe of the treading of many horses coming towards the place, which caufed him to withdraw his hand, fearing the comers would take the purchase from him (for hee doubted nothing but that it was treasure) but turning about to see what they were, there was neither man nor horse in veiw: to the pott againe hee goes, and heard the like noyse the 2d time, yet looking about faw nothing, at the 3d time hee brought it forth, and the treasure was onely a few bones as if they had beene of children or lambes or the lyke. But the man (whyther with the fear [which hee denyed] or other cause I cannot ghesse at) in very short time after lost both hearing & fight, & in lefs than 3 monthes declyning dyed: hee was held very honest & constantly reported this, divers times to men of good qualitie with protestations of the truth thereof, even to his death. Of another of the Borrowes the name I have forgotten, but it is nere another that is named Wood-Borrow of which a gentleman worthy credit both for honestye & wealth told mee this tale, which happened fome yeare or two before the other, two good fellowes that inhabited not far from it were informed by one that was held skilful in metaphysical studyes, that there was in that hillock a great braffe pann, ar d therein much treasure of filuer & gold, which if they would dig for hee promifed them (by his art) to fecure them from all danger, foe hee might have a part; they willingly confented, and made a 4th man acquainted therewith whome they knew to bee valiant and hardye; but hee, better qualifyed then to vndertake fuch courfes to purchase wealth, absolutely refused to bee partaker therein, but promifed fecrecie. the other two with the conjurer fall to their work & ply it foe luftily that it was not long ere they found the pann covered with a large ftone; with the fight whereof & their protectors words encouraged, they earnefly follow their bufiness, with their vtmoft abilitie. for the conjurer told them, that if they fainted when it was in fight it would bee taken from them, and all their labour loft, and now the cover was to bee opened, & the younger of them at the work hee was fodainly taken with fuch a faintneff, that hee could not lift his hand to doe any thing & therefore called to the other to supply his place, which hee did, & was instantly taken with the like numness which continued a very small time, yet their protector told them the birds were flown away & onely the neft left which they found true; for recovering their firength they tooke out the pann, wherein they found nothing at all but the bottome thereof (where the treasure should seeme to have layn) very clean & the rest all cankered. Hee that told mee this protested hee saw the pann, & that the 2 labourers constantly avouched the other circumstances to bee true." Westcote's View (Portledge MS.) p. 153, 154.

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Barrow, immediately beyond the outer row of stones on Maddoc's-down: And my curiofity (fays he) will lead me to open it." I do not find that he put his defign into

execution.(d)—But to enumerate the Barrows in this county, would be endless.

And the present Section is already extended to too great a length; scanty as my materials were, for a history of the Danmonian Architecture. If, however, I have indulged a little in conjecture, it should be considered, that such a subject requires illustration: And a few scattered facts, at so remote an æra, can never be rendered interesting, unless they are mingled with probabilities.

# SECTION V.

VIEW of PASTURAGE and AGRICULTURE in DANMONIUM, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. Danmonium, originally, a Wilderness—The Ground prepared for Pasturage—The Flocks and Herds of the Danmonians—Dartmoor and Exmoor.—II. Agriculture—Cæsar quoted—The Danmonian Farm—Orchard or Garden.—III. Remarkable Fertility of the Island, as reported by the Phenicians and Greeks; a plain Proof of its very early Inhabitation.

S the Danmonians had made some progress in architecture before the arrival of the A Romans, it is natural to expect, that they were not deficient in other arts which contributed to the conveniencies and comforts of life. Even of a people just emerging from barbarism, the first picture is that of shepherds and herdsmen: And the view of busbandmen follows in quick succession. With husbandmen we connect the idea of the farm, and all its obvious appendages: Nor from the neighbourhood of the farm-house, is it easy to detach the garden or the orchard. To the first people that landed in Danmonium, the face of the country was every where rough; the higher grounds were darkened by forest trees, or covered with coppice, brakes, and heath; and the low-lands were overgrown with wood or with the rankest herbs; where the rivers, which must have run lawlessly, obstructed not the progress of vegetation. Amidst such luxuriance, the beasts were furnished with coverts, the birds had built their nests securely, and the waters were replenished with fish. To the Aborigines of Danmonium, therefore, the wild animals of the country must have afforded a ready sustenance; whilst the necessity of hunting, of fowling and of fishing, was instantly suggested. But these exertions for the supply of their immediate wants, were flight, in comparison of the various labors imposed on the first colonists. To clear the grounds, to fell trees, and to destroy wild beasts, was a task preparatory to their fettlement. And, among the animals which they hunted, for food or diversion, or in order to the security of their persons, they must have taken some, whose gentleness conciliated regard; and whose docility soon rendered the attempt successful to domesticate "the pensioners of nature", or confine the rovers within certain boundaries. To discuss the point, whether the Danmonians thus subdued, by gradual means, those animals which are so useful in subservience to man; or whether they imported with them their dogs and their cattle, would here be impertinent or unnecessary. Certain it is, that when Cæfar invaded the island, the riches of the Danmonians chiefly confisted in their cattle. It was their practice to keep large herds upon the uninhabited grounds that

(d) Long before his death, his literary pursuits had been often interrupted by a dreadful indisposition: Heaven knows, that, at this moment, I am but too sensible of what his sufferings must have been! The ill-health of my predecessor, I fear, was entailed on me, with the history! There seems to be a fatality in the attempt—Not to mention the impersect works of Sir. W. Pole, of Westcote, or of Risdon; Milles, and Chapple, and Badcock, have either fallen victims to the History of Devon, or died in the midst of their labors! It was this idea, which chiefly induced me to print my Collections for the General History, in the present form, without loss of time. If I drop, before the completion of this work, the public will, here, possess a variety of useful Notices; which, from the multiplicity of my papers, their disorder in numerous instances (to any other eye than mine) the endless diversity of the MS. and the difficulty of decyphering a great part of it, and from many other circumstances, no writer, succeeding me, could possibly bring forward: They are Notices, which, in this case, would be inevitably lost.

kirted the confines of their country. "Retaining, under their own care, as many as they could conveniently furnish with pastures, they detached the rest into the woods, or the borders, under the inspection of their servants. And these they sometimes called Geangon, or foresters."(a) According to Mr. Carte, the Danmonians had a wide scope, indeed, for their flocks. "Westmoreland and Somersetshire (says he) being moist and morassy countries, served the Brigantes and Dumnonii for their summer pastures, as Cumberland and Cornwall, having a dryer soil, did for their winter." But, as Mr. Whitaker tells us, " all the change of pastures that was made by the Britons, was the same as is made to this day by the Highlanders; driving the cattle to the valleys in summer, and redriving them to the hills in winter." The Cassini and Ostidamnii, as some conjecture, were keepers of the flocks and herds of the Danmonians. These flocks and herds were, probably, fed along the extensive tracts of Dartmoor; where the Cassini and Ostidamnii, had their temporary habitations; fixing their residence on a particular spot, as long as the pasturage around them was sufficient for the maintenance of their cattle. And (b) Exmoor must have afforded a noble range for the flocks and herds of the Britons. Not that the uplands of Danmonium were the resort of shepherds or of herdsmen only: The contrary has already appeared. (c) At this juncture, the care of cattle was a hazardous employment; fince every night the peafants must have watched with their mastiffs, for the protection of the sheep and kine, from those ravenous beasts that inhabited the woods. The dangers of this occupation, however, daily decreased; since the Danmonians, still incroaching on the habitations of the wolf and the bear, foon thinned their numbers, and harraffed the beafts that escaped, or drove them into distant coverts. On those spots, which were thus rendered compatibly fecure, they would naturally turn their attention to the foil: And, barren in many places, in others rocky, in others overgrown with briars or with the rankest weeds, the soil could be made productive, only by unremitting labor and affiduity. On the point of the British pasturage and agriculture, we may gather, perhaps, a few hints from ancient authors. Cæsar's distinction between the interior Britons, and the Britons of the coasts, must easily recur to memory: What relates to the present topic is vague. Whilst the Belgæ were well acquainted with agriculture, it feems that most of the Aborigines depended for sustenance on their flocks and herds .-"Interiores plerique (the Aborigines) frumenta non ferunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt." But some of the interior inhabitants of the island, were agriculturists. That the Aborigines should, even in Cæsar's time, notwithstanding the lapse of so many ages, in which numbers of them, dispossest of their original settlements in Danmonium, had been driven into the heart of the island, prefer the vagrant life of shepherds to the steadier occupation of husbandmen, is surely probable from the Asiatic character. Yet I cannot conceive that so ingenious a people had been utterly inattentive to husbandry. Accordingly, we may infer from the very passage before us, that some of the interior Britons were tillers of the ground. The maritime Britons, however, were more generally employed in agriculture. Such were the Belgæ, who fettled as a nation to the east of Devonshire; though great numbers of these continental intruders had incorporated with the Danmonians. The Danmonians, in the mean time had, doubtless, adopted all those modes of cultivating the ground, which ingenuity would dictate, or the practice of their neighbours would present to observation; though they retained their original love of change, still shifting their habitations from place to place, as the pasturing of their cattle required. And the attention of this people, seems to have judiciously divided between pasturage and agriculture: Whilst the Danmonians saw the neighbouring nations, some for the most part occupied by the former, and others by the latter; they reconciled both in themselves. Of a Danmonian farm, therefore, a certain portion of ground was, probably, allotted to the feeding of cattle, notwithstanding the extensive range of the neighbouring downs or commons; though the greater part was tilled with corn, for the provision of the family. The farm-house of the Danmonians, seems not to have been deficient in articles of convenience. If the Britons, as Mr. Whitaker informs us, had bee-hives near the mansions

<sup>(</sup>a) See Whitaker's Manchester. (b) "Belgas sterilem et montosum illum terræ tractum—Exmoor—in occidente, invadere vel subigere voluisse, nullam veri speciem præ se fert; sed tantum agri Somersetensis illam in occidente vallem, quæ iis, citra montes ad Dunstar usque pertinens, omni sere ævo grata, salubris et jucunda suit, agricolæque voto respondens." Musgrave, from whom this passage is taken, judges of Exmoor, in the British Period, from its appearance at the present day: But this judgment is erroneous. (c) See the IVth Section.

of their chiefs, and near their farm houses, we can hardly avoid giving them credit for every comfortable accommodation. Whilft the house was guarded by the British mastiff, the wild boar of the Danmonian woods had become a peaceful inhabitant of the farmyard; the cow was ready with her supplies of milk; and the horse had, also, passed into servitude. The Danmonian horses, however, must have frequently run wild in the woods and mountains. They are expressly described by the Romans, as at once diminutive in their fize, and swift in their motions: (a) And the breed still subsists in the little horses of Exmoor and Dartmoor, as well as those of Wales and Cornwall. As to the Danmonian modes of cultivating the ground, we cannot expect much information. Pliny tells us, that the Britons manure their ground with marle, instead of dung: And what Pliny knew relating to this island, was, probably, collected from the Danmonian merchants. It feems, that a variety of marles was used by the Britons as well as Romans, in manures: And sea-sand was employed in the western counties, as at the present day. (b) With respect to the process of the British husbandry, it would be fruitless to enquire. I cannot but remark, indeed, that Diodorus Siculus mentions the Britons as boufing their corn; which feems, at this moment, to be the custom in Devonshire, though not in many other counties. (c) In the paffage (d) to which I allude, the Britons are faid to lay up their corn in caverns: And the people of Devonshire have, in many places, barns capacious enough for their corn. In the more eastern counties, however, the corn is chiefly preserved in mows in the open air. After the partition of lands, the woods and coppices were confidered as another part of the estate: And they were a valuable part of it. Though Danmonium abounded with woods, perhaps we had no great variety of forest trees. The number of our indigenous trees were few. Cæfar intimates, that the beech and the fir were strangers to our woods. But Mr. Whitaker thinks, from its British appellation, Gius in Scotland, Giumbus in Ireland, and Fynniduydth in Wales, that the fir was a native of Britain. The firs of Scotland and Ireland are often noticed in the poems of Oslian. And the fir, though no longer growing wild in Devonshire or Cornwall, has been found among subterraneous substances in both counties; particularly on the Bovey-Heathfield, where it lies imbedded in the clay, and from its refinous quality and the nature of its grain, is evidently the fir-tree. In the mean time, the beech was certainly not a native of the island. And it is, at this moment, very scarce in Devonshire. (e)

(a) Dio, p. 1280. (b) Whitaker's Manchester.

(c) The Belgæ of Devonshire were in possession of the Gallic instrument of threshing before the Romans: They were well acquainted with the use of our sail. Whitaker.

(d) Diodorus (1) tells us, that, from their fubterraneous granaries, they took as much as was necessary for the day, and having dried the ears, beat the grain from them, which they bruised, and

made into a fort of bread for present use. (2)

(e) It has been a subject of dispute among naturalists, whether the Yew is an indigenous or exotic plant. That it was indigenous, I have scarcely a doubt. In several parts of Devonshire, yew-trees are now flourishing, of the plantation of which we have no memorial. In Scotland, it was certainly indigenous. "Lift thy terrible sword! Bend thy crooked Yew! Throw thy lance through heaven! Lift your shields, like the darkened moon! Be your spears the meteors of death!" A correspondent, however, writes: "I have never seen the yew-tree growing in this country, except where planted: It has, in many instances, proved satal to cattle: At a funeral, some years since, in a neighbouring parish, two or three horses were killed by eating it, being as is supposed, forced by hunger. The deleterious effects of this plant were well known to the ancients: Cæsar knew the power of yew. As I do not recolled having seen the passage quoted, it shall find a place here. Cativulcus, rex dimidiæ partis Eburonum, qui una cum Ambiorige consilium inierat, ætate jam confectus, quum laborem aut belli aut fugæ ferre non posset, omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem qui ejus consilii auctor suisset, taxo, cujus magna in Gallia Germaniaque copia est, se exanimavit. A yew-tree is still found in almost all our church-yards.

(1) "Kai Onoavoi Covtes" &c. "In Brittannia, si valuit, quod in Cappadocia et Thracia usus introduxerat ut frumentum in specubus abderent, proba vulgata est." Vario I. R. R. C. 57. "Quidam granaria habent subterris, speluncas quas vocant ozious, ut in Cappadocia et Thracia. Akii, ut in Hispania citeriore, puteos, ut in agro Carthaginiensi et Oscensi." Not. Diod. Wess. T. I. p. 347.

Ofcensi." Not. Diod. Wess. T. I. p. 347.

(2) Some vestiges of this ancient way of dressing corn, were discovered not long ago in several of the islands of Scotland.

This method is called Graddan, from the Irish word Grad, which signifies quick. A woman sitting down, takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in the left hand, and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a slame: she has a slick in her right hand, which she manages very dexterously, beating out the grain at the instant the husk is quite burnt, for if she miss of that she must use the kiln; but experience has taught them this art to perfection. The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked within an hour." Martin's Descript of the western islands of Scotland, p. 204.

Among the fruit trees of Danmonium, the apple was, undoubtedly, British. In the Cornish, the Irish, the Welch and the Armorican, it is invariably denominated the avail or aball: And it seems to have been brought into Devonshire by the first colonies. The avallonia, or the apple-orchard of the Hadui (the present scite of Glassonbury) is mentioned by Richard. For(a) other fruit-trees, it is difficult to say, whether they were indigenous or not. Though the British garden was chiefly composed of fruit-trees; yet the orchard, and the flower and kitchen garden, were all united in one. And gardens

near the British houses, in the southern counties, are remarked by Strabo.(b)

Obscure and unsatisfactory as these accounts of the Danmonian pasturage and agricul. ture are, we may be affured, that this island was remarkable for its fertility in very ancient times. In some of the earliest notices of Britain by the Greeks, the island, or rather Danmonium, is celebrated as prolific of the fruits of the earth. Orpheus called this island the royal court of Ceres. In after times, Strabo(c) and (d)Diodorus Siculus, agreed in their reports of its fertility: And these authors drew their materials from Greek geographers and historians, who lived long before Cæsar. That Danmonium could have programmed for the characteristic from Greek geographers and historians, who lived long before Cæsar. That Danmonium could have programmed for the characteristic from Greek geographers and historians, who lived long before Cæsar. duced fruits in fuch abundance, without human ingenuity and human labor, long and perseveringly exerted in the cultivation of it, is impossible to be conceived. Its uncommon fertility, therefore, leads us to think, that it must have been very early known to the oriental nations. (e)

The general principle of fertility in every country, is the application of man; by which the beneficial productions that naturally spring up, may be freed from every impediment to their growth, and removed into more genial situations, and by which the fruits of one country may be transplanted and cultivated with success in another. If this were not the case, mankind could not have spread over the face of the earth: and the far greater part of the world would have remained in a state of nature. The capacity of producing, when directed by skill and supported by labor, certainly extends the bounties of providence, and meliorates even the most ungrateful soils and climates. But these happy effects are produced, only in a course of time. Danmonium was, at first, a wilderness. Nor did it become the court of Ceres, till after the lapse of ages. (f)

church-yards. Three reasons may be affigned for their situation: The first is, that before the invention of gunpowder, the warrior might never be at a loss for a bow. The fecond is, its being an evergreen, and as fuch, an emblem of immortality. The third motive which may be supposed to have induced mankind to plant the yew in church-yards, is the idea of its being endued with a power to attract to itself the noxious particles that may arise from dead bodies: This last opinion has been of late much strengthened by the experiment of Dr. Priestley, who has discovered, that growing vegetables are wonderfully effectual in the purification of foul air." Mr. Cornift, of Totnes, in a letter to the author. A fourth reason has been given. The Yew, we are told, was there planted, to prevent the introduction of cattle into facred ground: But this is improbable. The peculiar GLOOM-INESS of the Yew, and the DEADLINESS of its Poison, feems to fuggest the propriety of its situation, more strongly than all.

(a) "The Damson (says Mr. Whitaker) had been long taken from the vicinity of its native Damascus, and accustomed to the foil of Italy, when the Romans took possession of this island: And the British appellation of it, Damsbon or Damson, remaining among the Irish and ourselves, denotes it to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans." But the name of this fruit remaining among the Irish, by no means proves its introduction into Britain by the Romans. I should draw a different conclusion from this circumstance. The peach was, probably, transplanted from its own Persia into Britain. (b) p. 306. (c) Geor. lib. 3, p. 200. (d) lib. 5, p. 209. (e) The fertility of this island, in the British Period, as the ingenious and learned Dr. Campbell

intimates, is a certain proof that it was inhabited long before our antiquarians have thought proper to colonize it.

(f) "Sir Walter Raleigh reports, that the Spaniards, in some parts of America, scarcely proceeded into the Continent ten miles in ten years; which if they (with all necessary instruments) could not do, how can we expect, that in the first ages after the deluge, colonies could go on so fast, when they were to encounter with no less difficulties, and had not the same means to overcome them. And if by this measure we should calculate the progress of the first planters, we might not be far out of the way; but certainly as Europe extends in length IOCCCC German miles, so we might modestly affign to many years to the filling of it, which is four times the speed that the Spaniards made in America." Sammes' Britann. Antique. Illuftr. p. 9.

#### SECTION VI.

# VIEW of MINING in DANMONIUM, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. Quarries—Tin-shoding—Streaming—Vestiges of Tin-Works in different parts of Devonshire—Lead—Iron—Gold—Silver.—II. Preparation of these Metals for Use.—III. Conclusion.

The have seen the Danmonians pasturing their cattle and cultivating their grounds—the most natural employment of man. But there is reason to suppose, that their attention was not long confined to the vegetable productions of the earth. The Aborigines of this country possest a spirit of research, which led to new pursuits and prompted new discoveries: And Danmonium was now to be explored for mineral treasures. The use, indeed, of several kinds of stone, which met their eye, either scattered on the surface of the ground, or imbedded in the soil, or in various other situations, was as obvious as that of the timber which their woodlands supplied. The slate and the moor-stone, particularly the latter, were of this description. Thus the working of a quarry was soon an unavoidable labor: And there was an easy transition from the quarry to the mine. To conduct, however, the Danmonians, step by step, to the mines, is needless: For, though the use of stone seems more obvious than that of metals, the latter were procured, perhaps, with as little trouble in Danmonium. (a) This, at least, seems to have been the case with the

(a) On the discovery of Mines, Dr. Pryce expatiates thus: "Lucretius, who ascribes the first discovery of Metals to the burning down of woods, says, that the heat of the slames melted the Metals, which were dispersed here and there in the veins of the earth, and made them flow into one mass:

Whatever 'twas that gave these slames their birth, Which burnt the tow'ring trees, and scorch'd the earth; Hot streams of Silver, Gold, and Lead, and Brass, As nature gave a hollow, proper place, Descended down, and form'd a glitt'ring mass. This when unhappy mortals chanc'd to spy, And the gay colour pleas'd their childish eye; They dug the certain cause of misery.

Cadmus, the Phenician, is, by fome, faid to have been the first who discovered Gold; others say, that Thoas first found it, in the mountain Pangæus in Thrace: the Chronicon Alexandrinum, ascribes it to Mercury, the son of Jupiter; or to Pisus, king of Italy, who quitting his own country went into Egypt; where, after the death of Misraim, the son of Cham, he was elected to succeed him in the royal dignity, and, for the invention of Gold, was called the Golden God. Æschylus attributes the invention of this, and all other Metals, to Prometheus: and there are others who write, that either Æaclis, whom Hyginus calls Cæacus the son of Jupiter, or Sol the son of Oceanus, first discovered Gold in Panchaia. Aristotle says, that some shepherds in Spain having set fire to certain woods, and heated the substance of the earth, the filver that was near the surface of it, melted, and showed together in a heap; and that a little while after there happened an earthquake, which cleaved the earth, and discosed a vast profusion of silver. This is confirmed by Strabo, lib. iii. and Atheneus, lib. vi. who say, that the Mines in Andalusia were discovered by this accident. Cinyra the son of Agryopa, first sound out the Brass (Copper) Mines in Cyprus; and the discovery of Iron Mines Hesiod ascribes to those in Crete who were called Dactyli Idæi: and Midacritus was the first man that brought Lead (Tin) out of the island Cashteris. (Lucretius, Pliny, Polydore Virgil). We shall close this ancient account of the first discovery of Metals, with the following lines from Dr. Garth's Dispensary.

Now those prosounder regions they explore, Where Metals ripen in vast cakes of Ore. Here, sullen to the fight, at large is spread, The dull unweildy mass of lumpish Lead; There, glimmering in their dawning beds, are seen The more aspiring seeds of sprightly tin; The Copper sparkles next in ruddy streaks, And in the gloom betrays its glowing cheeks.

Mines have been often discovered by accident, as in the sea cliffs, among broken craggy rocks, or by the washing of the tides or floods; likewise by irruptions and torrents of water issuing out of hills and mountains; and sometimes by the wearing of high roads. Another way of finding veins, which

Danmonian tin and lead. The Moina-Staine or the Danmonian Tin-mines, were not deep mines, as at the present day. The greater part of the tin produced in Danmonium, before

we have heard from those whose veracity we are unwilling to question, is by igneous appearances, or fiery coruscations. The Tinners generally compare these effluvia to blazing stars, or other whimfical likenesses, as their fears or hopes suggest; and search, with uncommon eagerness, the ground which these jack o'lanthorns have appeared over and pointed out. We have heard but little of these phenomena for many years: whether it be, that the present age is less credulous than the foregoing; or that the ground being more perforated by innumerable new pits sunk every year, some of which by the Stannary laws are prohibited from being filled up, has given these vapours a more gradual vent; it is not necessary to enquire, as the fact itself is not generally believed. The art of Mining, however, does not wait for these favourable incidents, but directly goes upon the search and discovery of fuch Mineral Veins, Ores, Stones, &c. as may be worth the working for Metal. The principal investigation and discovery of Mines, depends upon a particular fagacity, or acquired habit of judging from particular figns, that metallick matters are contained in certain parts of the earth, not far below its surface. But, as ignorance and credulity are the portions of the illiterate, we have people constantly in search for Tin, where our dreaming geniuses direct them to follow after the images of wild fancy; consequently, we have a Huel-dream in every Mining parish, which raises and difappoints by turns the fanguine hopes of the credulous adventurers .- Mines are also discovered by the harsh disagreeable taste of the waters which issue from them, especially those of Copper: but this feems to be, only when the Ore is above the level at which the water breaks out; for, otherwife, it is unlikely that the water should participate of much impression or quality from the Ore that is underneath it, or untouched by it. A better expedient to find whether the water is impregnated with Copper, is to immerge a piece of bright Iron in it, for two or three days; in which time, the Iron will look of a Copper colour, provided the water is of a cupreous quality, or at least contains a certain share of vitriolick acid: further, if some Aqua Fortis be affused to a little of this water, in a clear phial, it will presently exhibit a bluish green colour, either fainter or fuller according as it is impregnated with the acid of vitriol. A candle or piece of tallow put into the same water for a few days, may be taken out tinged of a green colour.—Hooson says, that "the first inventor of the Virgula Divinatoria, was hanged in Germany as a cheat and impostor:" on the other hand, Dr. Diederick Wessel Linden says, in answer to him, that " Dr. Stahl, when he was president of a chemical fociety in his country, published a reward of twenty-five ducates for any one that could prove who was the inventor of the Virgula Divinatoria." It is impossible to ascertain the date or personality of this discovery, which appears to me of very little consequence to posterity: but perhaps we may not be far off from the truth, if we incline to the opinion of Georgius Agricola, in his excellent latin treatife De Re Metallica, that " the application of the inchanted or divining rod to metallick matters, took its rife from magicians, and the impure fountains of inchantment." Now the ancients not only endeavoured to procure the necessaries of life by a divining or inchanted rod, but also to change the forms of things by the same instrument: for the magicians of Egypt, as we learn from the Hebrew writings, changed their rods into ferpents; and, in Homer, Minerva turned Ulysses when old into the likeness of a young man, and again to his former appearance: Circe also changed the companions of Ulysses into beasts, and again restored them to the human shape; and Mercury, wi h his rod called Caduceus, gave fleep to the wakeful, and awakened those that were afleep. And hence, in all pro-Another way of discovering Lodes is by finking little pits through the loose ground, down to the ft or solid country, from fix to twelve feet deep, and driving from bability, arose the application of the forked rod to the discovery of hidden treasure."

fast or solid country, from six to twelve seet deep, and driving from one to another across the direction of the Vein; so that they must necessarily meet with every Vein lying within the extent of these pits; for most of them come up as high as the superficies of the firm rock, and sometimes a small matter above it. This way of seeking, the Tinners call Costeening, from Cothas Stean; that is, sallen or dropt tin.—Another and very ancient method of discovering Tin Lodes, is by what we call Sbodeing; that is, tracing them home by loose stones, fragments, or Shodes (from the ceutonick Sbutten to pour forth) which have been separated, and carried off, perhaps, to a considerable distance from the Vein, and are found by chance in running waters, on the superficies of the ground, or a little under.—When the Tinners meet with a loose single stone of Tin Ore, either in a valley, or in plowing, or hedging, though at a hundred fathoms distance from the Vein it came from; those who are accustomed to this work, will not fail to find it out. They consider, that a metallick stone must have originally appertained to some Vein, from which it was severed and cast at a cistance by some violent means. The deluge, they suppose, moved most of the loose earthy coat of the globe; and, in many places, washed it off from the upper, towards the lower grounds, with such a force, that most of the backs of Lodes or Veins which protruded themselves above the fast, were hurried downwards with the common mass: whence the skill in this part of their business, lies much in directing the r measures according to the situation of the surface.—Upon the top of most Tin Lodes, in the shelf or straum under the loose mould and rubbish of the earth, is that mineralized substance, which is called the Broyle or Bryle of the Lode. Though it is a part of the Lode, yet it is different

before the time of the Romans, was, probably, from Shode and Stream. "Tin (fays Dr. Borlase) is found disseminated on the sides of hills, in single stones, which we call Shodes,

in fituation and appearance from all other parts of it; forafmuch as it is not confined between two walls, the firatum fo near the furface being of a more lax tender texture, than in the folid rock a fathom or two under it. The Bryle, therefore, is very loofe, and in fome places fcarcely metallick, for want of depth, and of those lateral chinks and cracks, which feed and nourish the Lode, at deeper levels, with Mineral principles educed from the strata of the earth .- Such is the Bryle of a Lode: confequently, when the waters of the deluge retired into their refervoir, great part of the Bryles of Lodes were carried off by the force of the waters to various distances, according to the gravity of Shode Stones, and the declination of the plane upon which they were dispersed. Tinners who describe this distribution of Shode, to make it more easily understood, compare it to a bucket of water discharged upon the declivity of a hill; near the bucket, it will take up but a small space; but as it descends, will spread wider, in the manner of a truncated cone. Hence it is manifest to reason and experience, that the more distant Shodes are from the Bryle of the Lode, the more diverged they are, and fewer in number; and, by parity of reasoning, they are more in quantity near to the *Bryle*, and are collectively in less space. Nevertheless, in some certain situations, they are in greater quantities in vallies, than on the tops or sides of hills; but such are smaller, and more easily carried down by water, and formed into ftrata, which furnishes our ftream works. In level ground, they are found scarcely removed from the Bryle; but on a declivity, they are always found dispersed on the sides of the hill, at a greater or less distance, in proportion to the length or declivity thereof, and their own specific weight: confequently, the heaviest stones are nearest to the Lode, and the lighter are protruded to a greater distance (even to five miles distance, as it is said in Philosop. Transactions No. 69) which are also nearer to the soil, by means of their levity and size; while the more gross and weighty lie deeper interred as they are nearer the Lode. It is almost needless to observe, that as the texture, gravity, and black or brown colours of Tin Shodes, are different from all others; fo they are thereby known and distinguished, as well as by the smoothness of them a great distance from the Lode, and the acuteness of their angles when near to it; which entirely depends upon the trituration they have undergone, rolling over rough furfaces, by the force of water, and the attrition of other bodies passing over them.—Henckell and Rosler say, "That Mundick Shode is very common; and that Wolfram, Granate, and Iron Corns, nay Quickfilver, are found in Shode and Stream." "All of which," Henckell further fays, "were washed and torn away from their Veins, by the violence of the Noachian deluge."—Copper and Lead Shodes are very seldom met with; yet such there are. Their Bryles being chiefly composed of tender unmetallick Gossan, are not so well disposed for bearing that force and attrition, as the more stony matter of Tin Lodes are; and the former generally is not mineralized into Copper Ore at the Bryle.—It is a mistake in those who deny the existence of any other Shode but Tin: So far from it, every hard fratum of the earth which is uppermost, will shew us numbers of their Shodes dispersed from them at a distance, and reclined upon strata of quite different natures, as hills and vallies are fituated to help forward or retain those rocky fragments. I think our distinct loofe Moorstone, or Granite rocks, upon the sides, and at the bottoms of our mountains, are the Shodes of their strata underneath; and many large Shodes of Irestone are to be seen, though in less plenty, dispersed upon Killas strata at a distance from their parent rock: all of which are incontestible witnesses of those violent conquassations and convulsions of our country, at the time of the flood.—It is much to be lamented, that the science of Shoding is greatly lost in the present age. Among all our Miners, we have not fifty, who scientifically or experimentally understand any thing of the matter; and those that are intelligent therein, are become old and feeble; whereby it is much to be feared, that this ufeful, and I think improveable science, is in danger of being practically loft. -Almost every Lode has a peculiar coloured earth or grewt (grit) about it; which is also sometimes found with the Shode, and that in greater quantity, the nearer the Shode lies to the Lode; beyond which that peculiar grewt is feldom found with the Shode. A valley may happen to lie at the feet of three feveral hills, and then they may find feveral deads grewt or earth moved by the waters of the deluge, but not contiguous to the Lode, with as many different Shodes in the middle of each. This is also termed the Run of the country; and here the knowledge of the cast of the country, or each hill in respect of its greavet, will be very necessary, for the surer tracing them one after the other as they lie in order.-Likewife, when the Miners find a good Stone of Ore or Shode in the fide or bottom of a hill, they first of all observe the situation of the neighbouring ground, and confider whence the deluge could most probably roll that Stone down from the hill; and at the same time they form a supposition, on what point of the compass the Lode takes its course: for if the Shode be Tin, or Copper Ore, or promising for either, they conclude that the Lode runs nearly east and west; but if it is a Shode of Lead Ore, they have equal reason to conclude that the vein goes north and fouth. After finding the first Stone or Shode, they fink little pits as low as the fast rubble (which is the rubble or clay never moved fince the flood) to find more fuch Stones; and if they meet with them, they go further up the hill in the fame line, or a little obliquely perhaps, and fink more pits still, while they find Shode Stones in them, but they feldom fink those pits deeper than

Shodes, sometimes a furlong or more distant from their lodes: And, sometimes, these loose stones are found together in great numbers, making one continued course from one to ten

the rubble upon the Shelf, except they are near the Lode. If the Shode is found in the vegetable foil, the Lode is not at hand; but if it lies deep, maffy, and angular, it is a certain fign that the Lode is not far off, and that it is to be found opposite to the base or heaviest part of the Stones. The account which the learned Alvaro Alonzo Barba gives of discovering Silver Mines, by what I take to be Shoding, is very much like mine, and is as follows, p. 79. "The Veins of Metal are fometimes found by great Stones above ground; and if the Veins be covered, they hunt them out after this manner, viz. taking in their hands a fort of mattock (a pick) which hath a steel point at one end to dig with, and a blunt head at the other to break flones with, they go to the hollows of the mountains, where the downfall of rain descends, or to some other part of the skirts of the mountains, and there observe what Stones they meet withal, and break in pieces those that seem to have any metal in them; whereof they find many times both middling fort of Stones, and small ones also of Metal. Then they confider the fituation of that place, and whence these Stones can tumble, which of necessity must be from higher ground, and follow the tract of these Stones up the hill, as long as they can find -But to return—As they advance thus nearer the Lode with their pits, they find any of them." their Shode more plentiful and deeper in the ground; but if they chance to go further from the Lode, or pass the yonder side of it, there is a greater scarcity of the Shode, or perhaps none at all: in which case, they return to their last pit which produced Shode most plentifully, and work the intermediate ground, with more care and circumspection, by drifts from one pit to the next, until they cut the Lode. Sometimes they find two different Shodes in the same pit at different depths; then they are fure, that there is another Lode further on; and in training up to the fecond, they may meet with the Shode of a third. However, when they are just come to the Vein they set out for, they find an uncommon quantity of Shode Stones answering to the description before given, and then they say, that they have the Bryle of the Lode; upon which they dig down into the folid hard rock, which was never moved or loosened, until they open the Lode, and find its breadth by the walls in which it is enclosed .- Some Lodes, however, are so disposed, that they yield no Shode at all, nor are they to be discovered in a good depth; which may happen to be the case for several reasons. The situation of some places might have preserved their Veins from having their surfaces torn up and dispersed by the flood; or elfe being fo much torn and disturbed, their loofe Bryle might have been totally carried off to a vast distance, towards which its poverty for Metal and consequential levity might contribute; in the place of which, a fediment or earthy part might have fettled, and buried the Lodes fo deep, that they are not discoverable by shoding. Again, the backs of some Veins are depressed, and fo deep under the firm folid rock which lies over them, that they do make a rife or back immediately up to the loofe stone or earth; that is to say, some Lodes make no back at all, and therefore produce no Shode, fo that it is impossible to discover them, except by some favourable accident, of which I have known feveral instances.—These different dispositions of the strata I have taken notice of, sometimes deceive the miners in shoding for Veins; for when they suppose that there is but one bed or layer of stones or earth over the firm ground, and there happens to be a double stratum of rock and rubble between, which is far from being uncommon, perhaps they dig no deeper than the first shelf; in other words, they dig no deeper than till they think they are come down almost to the fast or firm ground, where they expect to find either the Shode or the Bryle of the Lode; but as they are covered by the other shelf or stratum, which the Miners are not apprized of, they have their labour for their pains, in feeking in fuch uncertain ground, which perhaps contains a double or treble shelf.—The Miners are of opinion, that the waters by their great emotion, did not only remove, and confuse the surface of the earth, but also broke the looser parts of Veins from off their superficies or backs; and thereby disordered and removed the face of the earth as deep as the fast and firm rock or stratum, as I have said before: and indeed our apprehension of the matter very much favours this supposition: whence, undoubtedly, those Shodes or fragments of Veins are the vestiges or remains of the deluge. Hence it is, that part of the Shode has been rolled down the declivities of hills from the Mines; moreover, that Shode which is found a great way distant from the Mines, is much more worn and smoother than that which is nearer to it, as it happens to stones on the sea shore, or on the sides of rapid rivers, which are fretted and worn smooth by the agitation of the waters, and the friction of other bodies. If any person will but consider the sea cliffs, he may observe, in several places, that the upper coat or covering of the earth, has been greatly moved and agitated; and that the loose stones did preponderate and subside on the firm rocks, pursuant to their specifick gravities; next those, the rubble resided, and over all the pure light earth rested. Yet this order is not absolutely perfect and without exception; for loose stones are often found in the light earth, and on its superficies; which by the impetuosity of the waters, and situation of particular places, were molested in subfiding. For we are not to suppose our globe to resemble a trough, or the like excavated figure, wherein the variously mixed earths are to be regularly disposed, as in the operation of buddling or washing of Ores; but to be of a spherical arched figure, where the waters, as on a hanging bottom, powerfully rend, and pull it asunder: and this force of the waters

ten feet deep, which we call a Stream. And, when there is a good quantity of tin in it, the tinners call it, in the Cornish tongue, Beubeyl, or a Living Stream—that is, a course of stones impregnated with tin. In like manner, when the stone has a small appearance of tin, they say it is just alive; when no metal, it is faid to be dead; and the rubble which contains no metal, is called *Deads*. These streams are of different breadths, seldom less than a fathom, oftentimes scattered, though in different quantities, over the whole width of the moor, bottom, or valley, in which they are found: And when feveral fuch streams meet, they oftentimes make a very rich floor of tin, one stream proving as it were a magnet to the metal of the other."(a) Dr. Pryce explains Shoding, to be "the method of finding veins of tin by digging small pits in order to trace out the lodes of tin, by the feattering loose stones and fragments that were dispersed from them by the retiring waters of the deluge: The loose stones thus dispersed, are called Shode-stones." (b) "If the of the deluge: The loose stones thus dispersed, are called Shode-stones."(b) Shode (fays Dr. Borla'e) is found in the vegetable soil, it gives no evidence of any lode's being nigh; but if in the faft (that is, the rubble or clay never moved fince the flood) it is taken as a never failing proof that it came from a lode farther up in the hill. As foon as the shode is found impregnated with tin, to find the lode it came from, is the next care. The process consists in digging pits at a proper distance and depth, and in a proper direction, and judiciously regulating their advances to the lode, according as the properties of the shodes direct."(c) With respect to the operation of Streaming, Dr. Pryce informs us, that the tinner, having fixed on a favourable situation, and settled the preliminaries, "sinks a batch or shaft, three, sive, or seven fathoms deep, to the rocky shelf or clay; on both of which in the same valley, the Tin is frequently stratified, without any difference in its being more abundant in one than the other. It is found in different places, at different depths, and fometimes stratified between what is called a first, second, or third shelf. The stratum of Stream Tin may be from one to ten feet thickness or more;

we may suppose to be greatest at the beginning and end of the deluge. - So likewise, in some places, the loofe earth and stone, which cover the firm rocks, lie in strata; for immediately on the rock, there may be, for instance, a layer of fand or clay, and over that, a bed of large stones, and so alternately stratum super stratum, for some depth. Now these variations might very well happen on the decrease of the deluge: for when the flood was high and more at rest, the slimy light earth was deposited downwards; but when the waters came lower, and bent their course to the beach, then it came to pass that there was a strong current from off the land to the sea, which rolled down the loose stones upon the mud or sediment that sell and settled beforehand; so this current might have been interrupted again by the fituation of the place and interposition of high ground, till the water had let fall another fediment, and afterwards found or perhaps broke another paffage for itself through the land. This might have happened several times in the deluge, till at last the remaining water partly evaporated and partly sunk into the ground, leaving the deepest earth or sediment where it continued longest; as it happens frequently in floods or overflowings of water, where we may observe the situation of high and low grounds do not a little contribute to the same kind of effects that are here spoken of.—Another way of discovering Lodes, is by working drifts across the country as we call it, that is from north and south, and vice versa. I tried the experiment in an adventure under my management, where I drove all open at grass about two feet in the shelf, very much like a level to convey water upon a mill wheel; by so doing I was sure of cutting all Lodes in my way, and did accordingly discover five courses, one of which has produced above one hundred and eighty tons of Copper Ore, but the others were never wrought upon. This method of discovering Lodes, is equally cheap and certain; for a hundred fathoms in a shallow surface may be driven at fifty shilllings expence.—In feasible (tender standing) ground, a very effectual proving, and consequential way is, by driving an adit from the lowest ground, either north or south; whereby there is a certainty to cut all Lodes at twenty, thirty, or forty fathoms deep, if the level admits thereof. Such depths are proving the Lodes discovered by them, and the adit will serve to drain all parts of the strata above it; and likewise be a discharge for all water drawn from the Mine into it; so that it is effectual for discovery, proving for trial, and consequential to the future working of a Mine. But in Granite, Elvan, and Irestone strata, this cannot be complied with, neither is it adviseable but under certain circumstances, where the ground is to be unought for eighteen stillings per set for how. under certain circumstances, where the ground is to be wrought for eighteen shillings per fathom, unless a Cross-Gossan lies ready at hand, when the method in use is to drive partly on one side of the Gossan, breaking down the adjunct wall of it, whereby they drive the adit cheaply, expeditiously, and effectually for discovery. In driving adits or levels across, north or south, to unwater Mines already found, there are many fresh Veins discovered, which frequently prove better than those they were driving to. Witness the Pool adit in Illugan, where the late John Pendarvis Basset, Esq. cleared above one hundred and thirty thousand pounds." p. 124 to 132.

(a) Natural Hist. p. 161, 162. (b) Pryce's Mineralog. p. 327. (c) Nat. Hist. p. 166.

in breadth, from one fathom to almost the width of the valley; and in fize, from a wall-nut to the finest fand, the latter making the principal part of the Stream, which is intermixed with stones, gravel, and clay, as it was torn from the adjacent hills. When he finks down to the Tin stratum, he takes a shovel full of it, and washes off all the waste; and from the Tin which is left behind upon the shovel, he judges whether that ground is worth the working or not. If it is proving work, he then goes down to the lowest or deepest part of the valley, and digs an open trench, like the tail or low slovan of an adit, which he calls a Level, taking the utmost care to lose no levels in bringing it home to the This level serves to drain and carry off all water and waste from the workings. in proportion as he hath a weak or powerful current of water to run through it. Some places are very poor and not worth the expence for working; others again are very rich, and thence called Beuheyle or Living Stream, as is most commonly the case if it is of a Grouan nature, which being more lax and fandy, is more eafily sep rated from its native place or Lode, and therefore more abundant and rich in quality according to the known excellence of Grouan Tin. In the latter case, the Streamer carries off what he calls the Overburden, the loose earth, rubble, or stone, which covers the Stream, so far and so large, as he can manage with conveniency to his employment. If in the progress of his working he is hindred, he teems or lades it out, with a scoop, or discharges it by a hand pump: but if those simple methods are insufficient, he erects a rag and chain pump; or if a rivulet of water is to be rented cheaply at grass, he erects a water wheel with ballance bobs, and thereby keeps his workings clear from superfluous water, by difcharging it into his level: mean while his men are digging up the Stream Tin, and washing it at the same time, by casting every shovel full of it, as it rises, into a tye, which is an inclined plane of boards for the water to run off, about four feet wide, four high, and nine feet long, in which, with shovels, they turn it over and over again under a cascade of water that washes through it, and separates the waste from the Tin, till it becomes one half Tin. Though there is little dexterity in this manœuvre, yet care is requisite to throw off the Stent or rubble from the tye to itself, whilst another picks out the stones of Tin from the Garde or smaller pryany part of it. During this operation, the best of the Tin, by its superior gravity, collects in the head of the tye directly under the cascade; and by degrees becomes more full of waste, as it descends from that place to the end or tail of the tye, where it is not worth the faving. If there is a copious stream of water near at hand, they cast this refuse into it, by which it is carried so far as to make its exit into the fea; for which practice they certainly deserve our severest censure; at least, if the choaking of harbours and rivers, and the destruction of thousands of acres of improveable meadow land, are not more than an equivalent for the casual and temporary profits arising from Stream Tin."(a) It was nearly in this manner that the Danmonians procured their tin: And they were, doubtless, well acquainted with tin in its richest mineral state; since Shode and Stream Tin must have been found plentifully disseminated upon the surface of the vallies, and the sides of the hills and mountains. Those fragments and nodules, by their color, shape, and gravity, must have attracted the notice of the first natives. The Aborigines could not observe the singular shape and weight of Shode and Stream Tin, without confidering the contents as a mineral, which by its superior gravity would afford some metallic substance; especially when by a comparison with the mineral ores of other metals, known long before the flood, they must have judged its confiftence to be metalline. There are some who would confine our original Tin-works to the Cassiterides, as including only the islands of Scilly. But, to wave all other considerations, the Shode and Stream Tin of the Scilly Isles, though abundant, was not sufficient for the wants of this adventurous and mercantile people. ( $\bar{b}$ ) Besides, we have the clearest

(a) Mineral. Cornub. p. 132 to 134.

(b) The vestigia of any Tin Lodes, Mines, or workings, in the islands of Scilly, are insufficient to convince us, that they only gave this beautiful Metal to the world: the remains of any such workings are scarcely discernible; for there is but one place, that exhibits even an imperfect appearance of a Mine: And so necessary an appendage to a Mine as an adit to unwater the workings, is not to be seen in all the islands. If, in those days, the Metal was produced from stream or shode stones only, we must undoubtedly have discovered, in latter times, those Lodes or veins from whence they were dismembered by the deluge. They must have been wrought for Tin since the earlier ages; and some remains of such Lodes would now be visible on the sea coasts or cliss, if many such had ever been: we are, therefore, strongly induced to believe, that the Mineral Ore of Tin was anciently procured.

vestiges of ancient Tin-mines in various parts of Danmonium. To fay nothing of Cornwall, there are numberless stream-works on Dartmoor, and in its vicinities, which have lain for faken for ages. In the parishes of Manaton, Kingsteignton, and Teigngrace, are many old Tin-works of this kind, which the inhabitants attribute to that period, when wolves and winged ferpents were no strangers to the hills or the vallies. (a) The Bovey-Heathfield hath been worked in the same manner: And, indeed, all the vallies from the Heathfield to Dartmoor, bear the traces of shoding and streaming, which, I doubt not, was either British or Phenician. (b) Lead was, also, familiar to the western Britons. "For lead, the mines of the Scilly isles (fays Mr. Whitaker) were worked by the Aborigines, and those of the Peak by the Belgæ."(c) In the Scilly Isles, the veins of lead lay so immediately below the surface of the ground, and branched out in so great an abundance, that the search for this metal was attended with little trouble or expence. Here again, there seems to be no warrant for the supposition, that the working of lead was circumscribed by the Scilly Isles. Mr. Whitaker fays, that "it was late before any mines of Iron were opened in this island. They appear to have been begun only a few years before the descent of Cæsar, and even then were carried on not by the Britons, but the Belgæ."(d) As Mr. Whitaker is of opinion, that the Danmonians were a tribe of the Belga, he doubtless means to include-the former under this general appellation. That the Danmonians had Iron-works, is plain from Cæfar, who mentions the exigua copia" (e) of our iron in the maritime parts. The Iron-pits on Blackdown, were, I conceive, originally British; and were afterwards worked by the Romans. That gold and silver (particularly the former) were discovered in Danmonium, before the arrival of Cæsar, is plain, I think, from (f) Strabo and Tacitus.(g) From the frequent discoveries of gold in particular, among the few stream-works of the present day, we should conclude, that this metal must have been inevitably found by the Danmonians, who had no other works than those of stream or shode, and who in the prosecution of their labors, had, probably, broken up half the furface of Danmonium, before the Roman Period. "It is suspected (fays Borlase) that there is gold, more or less, in all the stream-tin in Cornwall. What has been found, is always intermixed with grains of tin-ore, which, by their roundness and smoothness, shew that they have been washed down from the neighbouring hills. That gold lies, sometimes, so intermixed with tin, was not unknown to the ancients." (b) Pliny gives us an accurate description of these metals found together, in the same manner as they are now discovered in our stream-works—the tin in calculi (that is, smooth pebbly ore) of the same gravity as the ore of gold, and separated by searsing. "Separantur canistris, fays he (not caminis, as in some editions) that is, by baskets of the same nature and use as our fearces.

In what manner the Danmonians prepared these metals for use, Polybius, perhaps, would have informed us, had not that valuable work which Strabo mentions, been loft in the wreck of time. The Aborigines, probably, foon learnt the method of extracting

procured within the four western hundreds of Cornwall, and there smelted into white Tin, by charcoal fires, as the want of a proper bitumen in those days, and the entire demolition of all the woods near the Tin Mines, very plainly evince. Befides, unless we make great allowances indeed for encroachments of the ocean fince those early ages, the islands of Scilly are merely in their present state a cluster of barren rocks, the principal of them measuring but three miles long and two wide. Whence should all this Tin arise? Likewise the state of population then could not admit of emigrations from the infular continent for digging, raising, and smelting a Metal, which the mother island produced in such vast profusion from her own bowels." Pryce's Miner. Cornub. Introd. p. iv.

(a) The ancient Tin-works of Manaton, it feems, are at this day, haunted by the winged ferpent!

(a) The ancient Theworks of Mainton, it rectins, as ear this day, hauthed by the winged leppent!

(b) A Phenician coin was found at Teignmouth, a few years fince.

(c) Cæfar, p. 88, and Strabo, p. 265.

(d) Cæfar, p. 88.

(e) "When Cæfar, speaking of Britain, says, "nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum; sed ejus exigua est copia;" he elucidates our western history. To Cæsar it appeared that the tin came from the inner country. The original road by which this tin was conveyed, should be an object of your investigation; and, probably, you will find it carried over fords and forming towns, in its progress between Dartmoor and where Sir R. Worsley now traces it to have entered the Isle of Wight. On these fords too, you will probably find a Roman settlement, and not impossibly account for Crockern-Torr, Chagford, &c. having been formerly places of eminence. The roads on each fide of Dartmoor, were, probably, used for similar conveyances and centered at the first passage over the Exe, probably through Exeter." Col. Simcoe to the author.

(f) Lib. iv. (g) Vit. Agric. Cap. xii.—Fert Britannia aurum et argentum, pretium victoriæ.

(b) Lib. xxxv. Cap. xvi.

metal from mineral substances: And it was easy to purify tin from its native dross. The richness of the metal, and its ready fluxility in the fire, must have confirmed their conjectures; whilst its beautiful color and innocent properties, rendered it, perhaps, as valuable in their estimation as silver and gold, until, by great abundance, which renders all things cheap, it sunk in the scale of comparative excellence. Polybius is said to have described the ancient method of preparing tin for the surnace. And as Polybius was a very accurate writer, it is much to be regretted, that his account of the process hath not reached our times: All we can do, is to acquiesce in a few vague notices of Diodorus Siculus. The tinners, as (a)Diodorus intimates, manufacture their tin by working the grounds which produce it, with great art. For though the land is rocky, it hath soft veins of earth running through it, in which the tinners find the treasure, extrast, melt, and purify it; then shaping it by moulds into a kind of cubical figure. With respect to other ores, I have nothing to add; as nothing remains on record. I might conjecture, that as the Romans had iron forges in Danmonium, the Britons might have been surnished with the same apparatus. And I might proceed in this manner, in regard to other metals. Here, however, I shall stop. I have been, sometimes, hypothetical: And, to enliven a barren subject, it was almost necessary to be so. But to include often in theory, is to throw a romantic color over the truth of history. Let me, therefore, close the present view, whilst the spirit of conjecture slumbers.

#### SECTION VII.

VIEW of the MANUFACTURES of DANMONIUM, in the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. Necessary and Secondary Arts—Among the necessary Arts, Cloathing—The Cloth-Manufacture and the Art of Dyeing Cloth, known to the Aborigines.—II. Among the secondary Arts, the Danmonians skilled in the working of Wood—and in the working of Metals—Tin, Lead, Brass, Iron, variously manufactured—the War-Chariot, an admirable Specimen of British Ingenuity—Gold and Silver Smiths—Pottery—Glass.—III. Conclusion.

HE Manufactures of Devon may properly be classed under two heads—the necessary

1 and fecondary arts.

Among the necessary arts, that of Cloathing first presents itself to notice. The more prevailing opinion, is, that the first garments of the Britons were made of skins; and that the art of dressing wool, of spinning it into yarn, and of weaving it into cloth, was communicated to the Britons by the Belgic colonies. Accordingly, we are told, that our Belgic colonists manufactured several kinds of woollen-cloth—that one of these kinds consisted of a coarse fort of wool, woven very thick; and that of this, the Britons made their mantles or plaids which they used in winter. Another kind of cloth attributed to the Belgic Britons, consisted of sine wool dyed several different colors. This being spun into yarn, was woven chequerwise; which made it fall into small squares, some of one color, and some of another. The art of manufacturing cloths from the silaments of slax and hemp, is ascribed, also, to the Belgic colonies. That the Belgæ manufactured linen, and wore linen garments, is unquestionably true. And the Belgæ have all the credit for introducing into the island, the art of dyeing cloth; which, we see, was not unknown to the Britons.

How these opinions can any way be reconciled with the history of the Druids, it is difficult to say. The Druids are described, as wearing long white garments: And the inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall, and of the Scilly Isles, are said to have been cloathed in black— $\mu \in \lambda \propto \chi \lambda \propto i \propto i$  is Strabo's expression. Ancient authors, indeed, represent the Britons as variously habited: And this diversity was unavoidable. The aboriginal Danmonii would naturally wear one kind of habit; and the Belgic colonies, another. And from the distinctions of station, would arise other varieties of dress. The Druids were arrayed in long white garments, that swept the ground; whilst the nobles of Danmonium wore, perhaps, the loose black robe, and the common people the plaid or skins of beasts. That the inhabitants of Danmonium, were unacquainted with the cloth-manufacture till

the arrival of the Belgic colonies, is an opinion to which I can never affent. Even if we wave the idea of an eastern colonization, our connexion with the Phenicians and the Greeks, would render such ignorance improbable. The writers who entertain this notion of the western Britons in general, affirm, that " if the Phenicians or Greeks imparted any knowledge of these arts to the Britons, it was certainly very impersect, and communicated only to a few of the inhabitants of the Scilly Islands, with whom they chiefly traded."(a) Here is all the hesitation that marks an extorted truth: Nor is the passage free from absurdity. That the knowledge of the cloth-manufacture was communicated to the Phasician to the passage of the cloth-manufacture was communicated to the Phasician to the Phasician to the passage of the cloth-manufacture was communicated to the Phasician to the passage of the cloth-manufacture was communicated to the Phasician to the passage of the cloth-manufacture was communicated to the Phasician to t nicated by the Phenicians to the western Britons, is allowed from the pressing necessity of the case. Yet, as this concession plainly contradicts the notion of the Belgæ long after introducing the cloth-manufacture into the island, it is instantly qualified by terms that feem almost to annihilate it: It is fettered with unauthorized restrictions. On what grounds do we prefume, that the knowledge which the Phenicians imparted, was certainly wery imperfect, or that it was communicated to a few inhabitants of the Scilly Isles only, with whom they chiefly traded? The chief trade of the Phenicians was not with the inhabitants of the Scilly Isles: Their commerce was with Devonshire and Cornwall and the Scilly Isles. Why, then, should we confine this communication within the narrow boundaries of the latter? Who shall prove, that it was not coextensive with the Phenician

In the mean time, I am disposed to think, that those British manufactures were even anterior to the Phenicians. The plaided drapery, I conceive, was an original British manufacture, introduced by our first colonists. The (c) Highlanders, who emigrated from the east, manufactured (d) plaids. Of the cloth which was composed of hemp and of flax, the manufacture was eastern, from the very earliest antiquity. The Kannaib of the Irish, and the Kanab of the Armoricans, faintly echoed in the English bemp, was called Cannabis by the Romans. And it is likely that Kannaib was the original word, and that hemp was introduced into Britain by our first eastern colonists, and derived from those Aborigines to the Romans.-That flax was cultivated in the land of Ægypt, the book of Exodus informs us: It was very common in Palestine and other eastern countries. And the robes of the Druids are said to have been linen. (e) That linen, indeed, was very generally used by the western Britons, we should infer "from the spear-heads, axes for war, and fwords of copper, that have been found in Danmonium, wrapt up in linen coverings."(f) That the art of dyeing cloth was familiar to the ancient Britons, before the Belgæ, we have every reason to infer, from the known fact of their painting and staining their And with the same color which they used in staining their skin, the Danmo. fkin.(g) nians, probably, dyed their garments. The art of dyeing cloth was early in use among the people of the east. "Israel made Joseph a coat of many colors." Among the Britons, the glastrum or woad was a favorite color: And the famous purpura was surely not unknown to the nobles of Danmonium. Very possibly, the purple dye of the Tyrians gained its high reputation, among the ancients, from the use of our tin in the composition of the dye-stuff; as the tin trade was solely in their own management. That its use as one of the non-coloring retentive ingredients, was known to the Phenicians, will appear probable, when we consider the unfadingness of their purple; which was a leading cha-

(a) See Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. 1, p. 326.

(b) Sammes thinks, that "the black garments (μελανχλαιναι) of the western Britons, were Phenician. The habits of these western Britons were remarkable for their length and colour; the former of which, together with the staff they used to carry, argues that some eastern colonies, and especially

the Phenicians, traded with them". Britan. Antiqu. p. 118.

(c) See Offian, vol. 1, p. 140 — 156.

(d) To this day, the striped woollen mantles of the Highlanders, are denominated Breacan: And the coarse rough cloth of the Welch, was termed Brychan. In this county, a rent in a garment is

called a breac: And, whatever they tear, the Devonshire people say, they break.

(e) The Scuthæ of Colchis (fays the scholiast upon Pindar) are a colony from Egypt: they are of a dark complexion, and they deal in flax, of which they make linen after the manner of the Egyptians. The Irish have been ever famous for the manufacture of linen and woollen cloths. Vallancey has proved the names of every implement used in the weaving of linen, to be oriental.

(f) Borlase's Antiqu. p. 217. (g) Which may be reconciled with their wearing cloaths. In war, they threw off their garments, and painted their bodies, to render their aspect more terrible. The Highlanders fought almost naked within the prefent age.

racter in that celebrated color produced by the shell-sish purpura. It is not likely, that the simple blood of a shell-sish, however beautiful at first, would have proved a lasting dye. The addition of some retentive ingredient, must have been necessary to secure its brightness and preserve its beauty. Tin, dissolved in aqua fortis, is, at present, a necessary article in the new scarlet dye. And our fine cloths owe the permanence of their delicate colors to the retentiveness given by the finest grain tin: So that the English super-fine broad-cloths, dyed in grain by the help of this ingredient, are become famous in all markets of the known world.

After Cloathing, there are arts of an inferior degree, which may be called the fecondary arts. Of this kind, are the arts of working wood and metals. That the Britons were not uninstructed in the business of the turner and carpenter, is evident from the formation of their shields either in circles or lozenges, from the tapering of the shafts of their spears and arrows, and from the rounding of the axles of their chariots. The arts of working wood, were more obvious than those of refining and working metals. With respect to the tin of Danmonium, I have already intimated in my notices of the mines, that this metal, being collected in the fand or glebe, was cleared from the earth with water, fufed in the furnaces, and beaten into squares. (a) Lead was another metal which the Danmonians used for different purposes, and which was one of the Phenician exports. And brass was worked into various shapes by the Danmonians. The first formation of brass was prior to the flood-though not previous to the knowledge of iron. Without brafs or iron weapons, the first colonists could neither have built their houses nor cleared away the woods about their fettlements. And, as the nations in the east appear to have worked mines of iron or copper, in the remotest periods of their history, so the Danmonii were particularly acquainted with both. (b) The Danmonians had, certainly, braisfounderies: And they had one brais foundery, at least, in the cantred of Isca, in order to supply the armoury of the principality. The armouries of the Britons were surnished with spears, daggers, swords, battle-axes, and bows, and with helmets and coats of mail, shields and chariots. In Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland, we find many of these weapons at the present day. Swords, composed of copper, speltæ, and iron, of the same shape, and of the same mixture as to the quantity and quality of each metal, have been found on the plains of Cannæ and in Ireland. Concerning the origin and use of celts, which were of brafs or copper, many have ignorantly conjectured. Celts have generally been supposed to be purely Roman. They seldom, however, occur in Italy; and when they do, they are regarded as transalpine antiquities. For this and other reasons, Dr. Borlase is inclined to believe, that the celt is not to be ascribed to the Romans in general, but that it was originally of British invention, and afterwards improved and used by the provincial Romans. "Celts, says Dr. Borlase, are of different sizes. The larger and heavier feem to have been the heads of spears—the middle fort were defigned, perhaps, for javelins, and the lighter and smaller for the heads or arming of arrows. Some celts, found in a stone-quarry in Yorkshire, were enclosed in cases; and, doubtless, they were thus cautiously sheathed, to preserve the keenness of their edges." What Borlase here calls the brais cases of the celts, were actually the moulds in which they were cast. Moulds have been found much burnt by the constant casting of the hot metal. A great number of celts have been dug up in Ireland-a country never visited by the Romans. I should judge them, indeed, to have been the manufacture of the original Irish, before the Romans existed as a nation. Mr. Whitaker has given us a particular description of these instruments:(c) And he has proved, beyond all contradiction, that the celt was the head of a light battle-axe. "And it was a British one," adds our excellent historian. It was an aboriginal instrument: The Asiatics of Danmonium, of Ireland, and of Scotland, all used it. With respect to Devonshire and Cornwall, celts have been frequently found in these counties. A small brass celt(d) was discovered some years ago, at Place, in Chudleigh—It is now in the possession of John Hale, Esq. in Chudleigh. And another brass celt was found at the same time and place, which had a hole in it, probably for a handle, and was given to a gentleman in Dorfetshire. A celt was, also, dug up at Ingidon,

<sup>(</sup>a) Pliny, 1. 34, c. 16. Diodorus, p. 347. (b) See Deuteronomy, c. 3 & 8. Cæfar, p. 88.

<sup>(</sup>c) See his Manchester, vol. 1, p. 17 to 22.

(d) Near this celt was found, at the same time, a small brass oval ring, now in the possession of Mr. John Pike, of Chudleigh.

Ingidon, in the parish of Issington, a few years since: There was nothing remarkable in it. And Dean Milles has left us a draught of a brass celt, which was found in the parish of Buckfastleigh, "under a wail (says he) lately pulled down. They suppose by the situation of the place, that the ground has not been broken there, for at least a century back: Formerly mines were worked there" The working of the mines, however (though the Dean feems to lay some stress on this circumstance) has no connexion with the use of the celt. In feveral parts of the north of Devon, also, celts have been dug up: Mr. Badcock mentions one in particular, which was fub nitted to his inspection as a curiosity. (a)—Iron utenfils and weapons, were coeval, at least, with those of brass. And, before the Roman arrival, the Britons are thought to have established founderies for making iron, and forges for manufacturing arms, tools, and utenfils of all kinds. Near Beaford-moorhead, and feveral other places in this county, cinders have been dug up in considerable quantities, that seem to point out the iron-works either of the Britons or the Romans. At the place I have mentioned, the cinders lay between two and three feet deep. From the remains of old intrenchments here, I rather suspect that these cinders are to be classed among Roman relics.—In the war-chariot, both wood and metals appear to have been combined with wonderful art. Of the mechanical abilities of the Britons, this vehicle is a fufficient evidence. Its ingenious construction was admired by the Romans. On one of the British coins, we have an elegant picture of the war-chariot. (b) There we see the charioteer mounted on his carriage before us, a quiver of arrows peeping over his left shoulder, and a spear protended from his left hand; his feet resting upon the pole or a foot-board annexed to it, and his body leaning over the horses, in the act of accelerating their motion. And we have the description of a military chariot in Ossian, similar in one or two particulars, and more circumstantial. It is the chariot of a British monarch. "The car, the car(c) of war comes on like the flame of death! The rapid car of Cuthullin, the noble fon of Semo! It bends behind like a wave near a rock; like the fun-streaked mist of the heath. Its sides are embossed with stones, and sparkle like the sea round the boat of night. Of polished yew is its beam; its seat of the smoothest bone. The sides are replenished with spears; the bottom is the sootstool of heroes!" That the Britons had neither discovered gold nor filver before the Romans, hath been afferted; though the contrary is an absolute fact. To the Romans, gold and silver were the reward of victory—pretium victoria, says Tacitus: And a great number of gold chains were taken from Caractacus, and triumphantly carried to Rome. Hence it appears, that the Britons were furnished with no small quantity of gold; and that they were able to refine and work this metal in the time of Caractacus. Yet it is presumed, from the silence of Cæsar, that at his arrival, the Britons were unacquainted with gold. But to the Britons of Danmonium, gold was, probably, familiar long before Cæfar. The golden hook of the Druids, with which they cut their misletoe, proves that they had artificers who worked this precious metal .- Vesfels for containing and preserving liquids, was a very early invention in all countries. And the Danmonians, it is faid, were supplied with earthen vessels by the Phenicians. But, as clay is found in various parts of Danmonium, and the formation of it into vessels is fo obvious and fo simple an art, I have no doubt but pottery was known to the Danmonians before the existence of the Phenician trade. Earthen vessels have been often discovered in the British sepulchres, both in Devonshire and Cornwall-some unbaked, and others burnt in the kilns. (d) Clay is easily moulded into form, and naturally hardens in the sun, or by fire: But the vitrification of fand by the force of fire, was a discovery not fo obvious: It was known, however, to the Phenician fettlers, if not to the aboriginal Britons. Indeed, the first glass-houses that history mentions, were erected at Tyre. Danmonium,

<sup>(</sup>a) "This celt was discovered (says Mr. Badcock) in the military road, which, branching off from the castle of Termolus, runs towards Parnstaple, not by the present turnpike but in the bottom; and which, avoiding the hills, pursues its course in the tract of the ancient road, and joins the present road near Landkey. I examined the celt, which is a perfect antique: And the girl who found it, pointed out the spot where it was discovered—immediately after some labourers had been digging for gravel on the right side of the road, to repair the road itself." Badcock in a letter to Sir Geo. Yonge.

<sup>(</sup>b) See Borlase's Coins, No. 22. (c) Ossian vol. 1, p. 231, 232. (d) It appears from the kiln-burnt pottery that has been discovered in the British specially known among the Aborigines.

<sup>(1)</sup> See Roman-British Period.

Danmonium, glass annulets and beads of glass have been often discovered. And, if such ornaments were the production of our glass makers, they, doubtless, applied their art to domestic uses. Dr. Stukeley giving an account of a glass urn discovered in the isle of Ely in the year 1757, observes, that the Britons were famous jor glass-manufactory, which he looks upon as a strong presumptive proof that Britain was originally peopled from Tyre. (a)

On the whole, whether we adopt the Armenian, the Tyrian, or the Gallic fystem of colonization, we may be assured, that the Britons in general, and the Danmonians in particular, were more civilized and ingenious than they are commonly considered. This character appears on every view of them: Nor is it obscurely marked in those few simple notices of the mechanical arts in Danmonium.

### SECTION VIII.

## VIEW of the COMMERCE of DANMONIUM, in the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. Internal Commerce—Trade with the Phenicians—When first established—Where—Phenician Exports—Imports—Trade with the Greeks—Greek Exports—Imports—Trade with the Romans—Greeks of Marseilles—Passage from Diodorus Siculus discussed—Various Emporia on the coasts of Danmonium—New channels of Commerce opened in Gaul—The British Trade no longer confined to Danmonium.—II. Land-carriages of the Danmonians—Ships—The Danmonians not ignorant either of Ship-building or of Navigation.—III. The Trade of Danmonium not carried on by way of Barter, according to the common opinion.—The Danmonians acquainted with the use of Money—Conclusion.

IN treating of the commerce of this island, we naturally enquire, what intercourse was maintained between the different British states; before we look abroad to their foreign connexions. But on this fubject, we have not a gleam of information that any way relates to Danmonium. Of our (b) internal commerce, therefore, I shall say nothing. first foreign people with whom the Britons had any commercial dealings, were the Phenicians. This is a remarkable circumstance. We should naturally suppose, that the Danmonians would have formed the first connexions with their neighbours on the Continent. And this supposition is founded on the convenience of such a connexion. But if those Britons were no other than a colony from Gaul, we must necessarily imagine them acquainted with the product of their original country, and carrying on some species of trade with their progen tors. (c) The contrary, however, was the case—which furnishes a prefumptive proof, that Danmonium was not peopled from the Continent. Various have been the conjectures respecting the time when the Phenicians traded with the British islanders. A little unprejudiced attention, however, to ancient history, both facred and profane, would have long fince fettled our wandering ideas on this curious subject. Mr. Whitaker

(a) The people of Sidon (whom the prophet Zechariah calls the wife Sidonians) were eminently skilled in the most useful arts and sciences; is we may regard the joint authorities of Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius Perieg. and Pliny, as well as many other celebrated nistorians of ancient times. The Sidonians, and their descendants the Tyrians, universally studied astronomy and navigation; they excelled in ship-building; they invented glass; they introduced dyeing; and they carried architecture to great persection. In the people of Sidon and of Tyre originated, in a great measure, the commercial intercourse of the world. Wherever they came, they endeavoured to diffuse their own spirit of industry, and to propagate civility among mankind.

(b) Indeed, it is probable, that the Danmonians had some t affick in cattle; since at first the riches of the Britons, like those of the Patriarchs, says Mr. Whitaker, consisted almost entirely in their cattle." As the Britons were, also, samous for the neatness of their basket-work, the Bascauca, I conceive, must have been an article of internal commerce, before their acquaintance with the

Romans.

(c) And emigrators from the Continent, would probably have transplanted the island commodities thither, and carried them to the coasts of the Mediterranean: And it would have been well known, at least in Europe, who these people were, and whence this merchandize came. But it is a fact, that the Phenicians alone setched these valuable goods by sea, from a people and a country long unknown even to Asia, and still longer unknown to Europe.

Whitaker hath placed the original peopling of this island, even after the probable date of the Phenician trade. "When mankind (says he) (a) were dispersed from the plains of Shinar,

(a) In a letter to the author; who confiders Mr. Whitaker's correspondence as the greatest literary honor he ever received. Yet, from the nature of his hypothesis, he is sometimes obliged to differ from this first of antiquarians. - In the History of Manchester (vol. 2. p. 168 - octavo edit.) Mr. Whitaker fays, "that Midacritus brought the first vessel of the Phenicians to our coasts—that Midacritus opened the first commerce of the Phenicians with our fathers. And this commerce began (he continues) before the time of Herodotus, and about five centuries before the æra of Christ, At this time, the very first population of Lancashire was but just begun—the Belgæ were not yet landed in the island—and the original Britons possessed all the southern parts of it. The testimony of Herodotus (adds Mr. Whitaker in the notes) carries the Phenician arrival up to 440 or 450. And the progress of population in Britain and in Ireland, as it has been already and will hereafter be described, forbids it to be carried beyond the year 500." In answer to this, I must first observe, that Richard brings the Phenicians hither one thousand years before Christ, which makes the difference of five hundred years from Mr. Whitaker's account; and that the same author describes the whole island as then inhabited and cultivated, though Mr. Whitaker says, that Lancashire, five hundred years afterwards, was just beginning to be colonized. But I should almost suspect from Mr. Whitaker's manner, that he thinks the commerce might possibly have begun before; since he acknowledges, that his preconceived idea of the peopling of this island, "forbids his carrying the commencement of the Phenician trade above This is, undoubtedly, true. To carry the commencement of the Phenician trade the year 500." above the year 500, would be to shake his own theory of the peopling of the island. Yet I have fcarcely a doubt but the Phenician commerce begun long before the year 500. The testimony of Herodotus himself, as stated in the text, seems to prove the fact, beyond all contradiction.—This trade was opened, Mr. Whitaker says, with the natives of the Cassiterides, or the Scilly Islands. And he is decidedly of opinion, that the Scilly Islands were only ten in number (as Strabo afferts) at the time of the Phenician trade; and that Silura, the principal island, which reached almost to the shore of Cornwall, and which is now reduced to a number of infignificant ilets, was the very land and the only land where Midacritus first traded. The difference between the ancient and the present state of the Scilly Isles, may be accounted for (Mr. Whitaker thinks) by the incroachments of the sea. "That the sea has gained considerably upon the shore of Yorkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, the eastern coast of Kent, and that of Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall, we have sufficient proof from Camden and Borlafe. (1) And it has visibly usurped upon the Scilly Islands, within the present century. The sea, also, has greatly plundered the coasts of North Devonshire. (2) These gradual and successive depredations, have reduced the Scilly Islands to their present condition-have widened the narrow strait of Solinus into an expanse of forty miles, have covered half the great island of Silura with the waters of the ocean, and left only its mountains and promontories rising like so many ilets above the face of the waves." There is a curious passage relating to the Scilly Isles in Harrison's Description of England, dated 1586. "The violence of the sea (says Harrison) hath devoured the greatest part of Cornwall and Devonshire on either side: And it doth appear yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance betweene the Syllan Isles and point of the Land's End, there was of late yeares, to speke of, scarcelie a brooke or draine of one fadame of rvater betweene them, if fo much, as by these evidences appeareth, and are yet to be seene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those Isles."(3) The distance here, betwixt Cornwall and the Scilly Isles (as Mr. Whitaker observes) is contracted too much. But the whole (says Mr. Whitaker) ferves strongly to shew the original distance between them to have continued a good while below the conquest. If this be the case, the incroachments of the sea were not gradual, as before represented, but rapid beyond all credibility. A good while below the conquest, the sea had permitted the Scilly Isles and the continental island to approximate to each other, as they did in the days of Strabo or of Solinus. A good while below the conquest, therefore, those forty miles of land, which reached almost to our shore, and the place of which is now occupied by the sea, must have been overwhelmed and lost! Surely such an event could only have been occasioned by some fudden and violent convulsion of nature! But if such an event had happened so lately and within our own times, in so instantaneous a manner, it would, doubtless, have been recorded. I would infer, then, from these circumstances, that the question relating to the original distance of the Scilly Isles from this con inental island, is involved in much doubt. That great incroachments of the sea have taken place in those parts, fince the time of the ancient geographers, I readily admit: But, in my opinion, it would be a fruitless labor, to attempt to reconcile the present state of the Scilly Isles with fuch descriptions of them as occur in Strabo or Solinus; fince neither Strabo nor Solinus had any accurate idea of their fituation or their form.—Borlase, however, seems to think otherwife: And his remarks on this subject are very ingenious. "These islands being so noted among the ancients, I expected to find among the inhabitants a conscious esteem of their own antiquity,

(3) Prefixed to Holingshead's Chron. p. 236, 1586.

<sup>(1)</sup> Camden, c. 899, 467, 411, 211, 237, 199, 205, &c.

Shinar, they marched along the face of the large continent of Asia, by movements, gradual and progressive. Nothing was done, per saltum. In their migrations towards the

and of the figure they had made in history before the other parts of Britain were at all known, or at least regarded. I was not without some hopes of finding old towns, old castles, perhaps inscriptions, and works of grandeur; but there is nothing of this kind; the inhabitants are all new comers; not one old habitation, nor any remains of Phenician and Grecian art in the ports, caftles, towns, temples, or fepulchres. All the artiquities here to be feen, are of the rudest Druid times, and if borrowed in any measure from the oriental traders (superstition being very infectious) were borrowed from their most ancient and simple rites. We are not to think however but that Scilly was really inhabited, and as frequently reforted to anciently, as the old historians relate. All the Islands, by the remains of hedges, walls, ho fes contiguous to each other, and a number of fepulchral burrows shew that they have been fully cultivated and inhabited. What the ancients say of its name, customs, trade and inhabitants, I shall not trouble you with, as affording us few lights; you will find all this collected in the last edition of Camden, pag. 1519; but I should not excuse myfelf, if I did not lay before you the hints, which things themselves suggested, and which our own records supply us with all. That these Islands were inhabited by Britons is past all doubt, not only from their neighbourhood to Britain, but from the Druid monuments; the feveral rude pillars, circles of stones-erect, kistuaens without numbers, rock-basons and tolmens, all monuments common in Cornwall and Wales, equal evidences of the antiquity, rel gion, and original of the old inhabitants; they have also many British names at present for their little islands (1), tenements (2), karns (3), and creeks(4), and more, doubtless, have been forgot or jostled out by modern ones. How came these ancient inhabitants then, it may be asked, to vanish so, as that the present have no pretensions to any affinity, or connexion of any kind either in blood, language, or customs? How came they to disappear and leave so few traces of trade, plenty and arts, and no posterity that we can hear of behind them? In answer to which, as this is the most remarkable crisis in the history of these islands, you will excuse me if I enlarge; and if I make use of the same arguments which I had the honour lately to lay before the Royal Society (5), it is because they have the same weight with me now as they had before, and the course of the present subject will not suffer so momentous a part of natural history to be omitted. Two causes of the extinction of the old inhabitants, their habitations, and works of peace, war, and religion, occur to me; the gradual advances of the sea, and a sudden submersion of the land. The sea is perperually preying upon these little islands, and leaves nothing where it can reach but the skeleton, the bared rock. It has before been mentioned that many hedges now under water, and flats which ftretch from one island to another, are plain evidences of a former union subfifting between these now distinct islands. History speaks the same truth. The Isles of Cassiterides, fays Strabo(6), are ten in number, close to one another, one of them is defert and unpeopled, the rest are inhabited;" but see how the sea has multiplied these islands: they are now reckoned more than an hundred and forty, into so many fragments are they divided. The continual advances which the fea makes upon the land at prefent, are plain to all people of observation, and within these last thirty years have been very confiderable. I was shewn a passage which the sea has made within these seven years through the fand-bank that fences the Abbey-pond, by which breach, upon the first high tide and violent form at east, or east-south-east, one may venture to prophely that this still, and now beautiful pool of fresh water, will become a branch of the sea, and consequently exposed to all the rage of tide and ftorm. What we fee happening every day may affure us of what has happened in former times, and from the banks of fand and the low lands gi ing way to the fea, and the breaches becoming still more open and irremediable, it appears that there has been a gradual declenfion and dimunition of the folids, and as gradually a progressive ascendancy o the fluids for many ages. But far her, ruins and hedges are frequently feen upon the shifting of the fands in the friths between the islands, and the low lands which were formerly cultivated, (particularly those stretching from Samson to Trescaw) have now ten feet water above the foundations of their hedges, although at a reasonable medium we cannot suppose these soundations formerly to have been less than fix feet above high water level, when the lands were dry, arable or pasture grounds; this therefore will make fixteen feet difference at leaft between their ancient and prefent level; there are several phanomena of the fame nature to be feen on these shores; as particularly a straight-lin'd ridge like a causeway, running cross the Old Town Creek in St. MARY's, which is now never seen above-water. On the Isle of Annet, there are large stones now covered by every full tide, which have Rock-bases cut into their furface, and which therefore must have been placed in a much higher situation when those basons, in

(2) Trenowith, Salakee, Trewarlethen. Hablingy, Tolmen, &c.

(4) Porthmellyn, Porthioe, Portheraffou, Porthelik, &c.

<sup>(1)</sup> Men-ar-warth, Men-ar-widen, Penbros, Gwynhill, Gwynhillveor, Enys-an-geon Bighal, Enys-withek, Car-reg-stern Cri-bawethen, Cribanek, Roivean, Roiveor, Treanmen, Men-caer-low, Treicaw Guel, Henjak, Arwothel, &c.

<sup>(3)</sup> Karn-morval, Karn-gwavel, Karn-leh, Pen-envs, Mount-Todn, &c.

<sup>(5)</sup> In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Birch, Secretary of the Royal Society, on the alterations which the Islands of Scilly have adergone fince the time of the ancients. (6) Lib. iii. Geog.

west, they would find themselves at length obstructed in their advance, by those waters that divide the continental isle of Europe from Asia and Africa. This would check the forward

other places generally fo high, and probably of superstitious use for receiving the waters of heaven, were worked into them.(1) Again - Tin mines they certainly had in these islands two hundred years before Christ. What is become of these mines? for the mines at present to be seen shew no marks of their being ancient. To account for these alterations, the gradual advances and flow depredations of the fea will not fuffice; we must therefore either allow that these lands, fince they were cultivated, and built upon, have funk fo much lower than they were before, or elfe we must allow that fince these lands were fenc'd and cultivated, and the houses and other works now under ater, the whole ocean has been rais'd as to it's surface, fixteen feet and more perpendicular; which latter supposition will appear to the learned without doubt much the harder of the two. I conclude therefore that these islands have undegone some great catastrophe, and besides the apparent diminution of their islets by sea and tempest, must have suffered greatly by a subsidence of the land, (the common consequence of earthquakes) attended by a fudden inundation in those parts where the above-m ntioned ruins, fences, mines, and other things of which we have no veftiges now remaining, formerly flood. This inundation probably destroyed many of the ancient inhabitants, and so terrified those who survived, and had wherewithal to support themselves elsewhere, that they forfook these islands, by which means the people who were the Aborigines, and corresponded so long with the Phenicians. Greeks, and Romans were reduced to the last gasp. The few poor remains of the desolation might soon lose fight of their ancient prosperity and eminence, by their necessary attention to food and rayment; no easy acquifitions, when their low-lands, ports, and towns were overwhelmed by the fea. Give me leave to observe in the next place, that this inundation may be traced in the traditions we have had for many ages among the Cornife, and stands confirm'd by some phænomena on the shores of Cornwall. That there existed formerly such a country as the Lionesse, stretching from the Land's-End to Scilly Isles is much talked of in our parts. Antoninus places a little island called Lissia here, but whether he means the Wolf ledge of rocks, or any portion of the Scilly Isles is uncertain; however there are no appearances of any Island in this Channel at present. Mr. Carcw, in his Survey of Cornwall, (pag. 3.) argues from the plain and level furface of the bottom of the channel, that it must at one time have been a plain extended above the sea. In the family of Trevilian, now refident in Somerfet but originally Cornish, they have a story, that one of their ancistors faved himself by the help of his horse, at the time when this LIONESSE was destroyed; and the arms of the family(2) were taken, as 'tis faid, from this fortunate escape. Some fishermen also have intifted that in the Channel betwixt the Land's-End and Scilly, many fathoms under water, there are the tops of houses, and other remains of habitations; but I produce these arguments only as proofs of the tradition and strong persuasion amongst the Cornisto, that such a country once existed and is no buried under the fea, not as proofs of the matter of fact, for of that I am very dubious, the CASSITERIDES, by the most ancient accounts of them, appearing always to have been islands. I rather guess that this tradition of the Lionesse, and a great country between the Land's-End and Scilly's being overwhelmed hy the fea, might have taken its rife from that fubfidence and inundation which not only these islands have certainly undergone, but part of the shores of Cornwall also, for in Mount's-Bay we have several evidences of a like subsidence. The principal anchoring place is call'd a Lake(3), but is now an open harbour. St. Michael's Mount, from it's Cornifb name (4), must have stood formerly in a wood, but at full tide is now half a mile in the sea, and no tree near it. Leland, (Itin. vol. iii. pag. 7.) talking of this Mount, fays that an 'ould Legend of St. Michael speaketh of a tounelet in this part, now defaced and lying under the water;' in confirmation of which alterations I must observe, that on the Beach betwixt the Mount and the town of Penzance, when the sands have been dispersed and drawn out into the sea, I have seen the trunks of several large trees in their natural position, (as well as I can recollect) worn smooth just above their roots, upon which at full tide there must be twelve feet of water; neither is what Mr. Scawen says in his MS.(5) an inconsiderable confirmation that Cornwall has lost much land on the southern coast, that there was 'a valley between Rambead and Love, and that there is to be feen in a clear day, in the bottom of the fea, a league from the shore, a wood of timber lying on its side uncorrupted, as if formerly grown therein, when it was dry ground thrown down by the violence of the waves. Of this feveral perfons have inform'd me (fays Mr. Scawen) who have, as they faid, often feen the fame.' So that the shores in Scilly, and the neighbouring shores in Cornwall (not forgetting the Wolf ledge of rocks midway

<sup>(1) &</sup>quot;A person taking a survey of the Channel in the year 1742, took one of his stations at low water, as he told me, upon this rock, (viz- the Gulph-rock, midway betwixt Penzance and Scilly) where he observed a cavity like a brewer's copper, with rubbish at the bottom, without being able to assign a cause for it's coming there." Heath's Account of Scilly, p. 157. This could be no other than a Rock-bason, and consequently this rock is greatly sunk by being now entirely cover'd with the sea, at least nine hours in twelve.

<sup>(2)</sup> Gules, from a Fesse Wavy Azure and Argent, a Horse issuing Ar. (3) Gwavas Lake.
(4) Carreg luz en Kuz, a hoary rock in a wood. (5) Pag. 9, 10, written in his own hand.

forward steps of colonization: And Egypt, by means of that little junction of land, which connects the continental Isle of Africa, was probably peopled before any part of Europe. Navigation, at first, must have consisted solely in occasional exertions for crossing small arms of the sea. A voyage from Asia to Britain, would have been a most miraculous effort of the human mind. It would have been as unnatural as miraculous.

"The land was all before them, where to chuse Their place of rest, and providence their guide."

Why, then, should they attempt long voyages, to go they knew not whither; and to seek unfruitful regions near the pole, when they had all the soft climes of Asia before them, equally uninhabited, and directly inviting them? Nor could they, if they would, have taken such voyages. The Phenician voyages are no proof to the contrary. They were in a much later age; whatever Richard has said (who makes the Graci Phanicesque mercatores, to have come hither about the original plantation of the island) as the Phenicians came hither only a little before Herodotus—he mentioning the Cassiterides and their tin, but not knowing where those islands lay; and as the Grecians came long afterwards. We deceive ourselves on these points, by using the words Grecians and Phenicians at large.

between both) are equal evidences that there has been a subsidence of the land in these parts, and the memory of the inundation which followed upon that subsidence is preserved by tradition, though, like other traditions, greatly enlarg'd and obfcur'd by fable. When this inundation happen'd we may be willing to know, but must be without hopes of knowing with any certainty. In the time of Strabe and Diod. Siculus, the commerce of these islands seem to have been in sull vigour; abundance of tin carried in carts, fays the latter; but ten islands in all, says Strabe, and nine of these inhabited.' The destruction therefore of Scilly, must be plac'd after the time of these authors; that is, after the Augustan age, but at what time after, I find nothing as yet that can determine: Plutarch indeed (of the cessation of oracles) hints that the islands round Britain were generally unpeopled in his time; if he includes Scilly among them, and was rightly inform'd, then this defolation must have happened betwixt the reign of Trajan and that of Augustus. There was a great subfidence in the fouthern coasts of England in the time of Edward the First, whereby Winchelsea near Rye in Suffex was swallowed up, and its ruins are now three miles within the high sea(1), and for the unhappy inhabitants who had lost their town, Edward the First bought land and gave it them, and there stands the new Winchelfea. But I must observe that if the subsidence at SCILLY and Mount's-Bay were fo late, we could not have been without fome notice of it, and in the c mplaints of the monks of Scilly to Edward the First, we must needs have found so great a missortune particularly mention'd; whereas their petition was only for protection from pirates and foreign sailors. In the year 1014 happened a great inundation, of which the Saxon Chronicle gives this account: Hoc item anno in vigiliis Sancti Michaelis contigit magna ista Maris Inundatio per latam banc terram quæ longius expatiata, quam antea unquam, demersit multa oppida et bominum numerum inenarra-bilem.' But I think the catastrophe of these islands cannot be placed even so late as this; for the monks being placed here either by Athelstan, in the year 938, or soon after, nothing of this kind could have happened but it would have appeared somewhere or other, in the papers or history of Taviflock Abbey, at least, if the monks of Scilly were united to that Abbey at it's first foundation in the year gor. I therefore conjecture that this inundation must have happened before Atheistan's time; and by the Irish annals I find an inundation which might probably have affected the fouth of Ireland, and at the same time reach'd Scilly and the coast of Cornwall, which are not above fifty leagues distant from it to the east, nor much more than a degree to the fouth of it. 'In the end of March A. D. 830, Hugh Dorndighe being Monarch of Ireland, there happened such terrible shocks of thunder and lightning, that above a thousand persons were destroyed between Corca-Bascoin, a part of the county of Cork then so called, and the sea side. At the same time the sea broke through it's banks in a violent manner, and overslowed a considerable tract of land. The island then called *Innisfadda*, on the west coast of this county, was forced as a divided into three parts. This island, says my author, lies contiguous to two others, viz. Hare Island and Castle Island, which lying in a range, and being low ground, might have been very probably then rent by the ocean.'(2) As this inundation in the fouthern parts of Ireland feems well attested, and might not unlikely have reached Cornwall and Scilly, I should think it most suitable to history, that this was what reduced, divided, and destroyed the Scilly Islands, and over-run the lands on Mount's-Bay." Observations on the ancient and the present state of the Islands of Scilly, and their importance to the present state of Great Britain. In a letter to the Rev. Charles Lyttelton, LL.D. Dean of Exeter, and F.R.S. p. 84 to 99.—This book is scarce; as, indeed, are Borlase's Antiquities and Natural History of Cornwall. I have frequently made extracts, therefore, from these well-written volumes, for the gratification of my readers.

(1) Norden's Survey of Cornwall.

<sup>(2)</sup> Smith's Natural and Civil History of Cork, vol. ii. pag. 11. Keating, pag. 52. An old Irish MS.

The men, who came trading to our Cassiterides, were not proper Phenicians or proper Greeks. They did not come from Tyre and the Morea. The Greeks were the Phocæans of Marseilles, and the Phenicians were the Tyrians of Carthage, settled at Cadiz. And thus considered as inhabitants of Marseilles and Cadiz, these bold voyagers can lend not a shadow of pretext to a voyage from Asia to Britain. But let me further observe concerning these voyages: It is a common opinion, which I see you have adopted, that these miscalled Phenicians came to the south-western parts of this very island Britain. They came only to the Cassiterides—to islands, which Strabo shews us, were ten in number. And the idea, that Cornwall, and perhaps Devonshire, were considered as islands, is all a dream of romantic antiquarianism. When Devonshire and Cornwall were as well known to the Romans as Kent or Some setshire; they still distinguished the little islands of the Cassiterides, from the great Isle of Britain." These observations of Mr. Whitaker, will suggest to us some reflexions on the Phenician trade, with respect both to time and place. Let us first appeal to scripture, and next to prosane history. That the eastern people were acquainted with navigation and commerce. at a very early period, is plain from a passage in the Psalms: "They that go down to the sea in ships (says David) and occupy their business in the great waters." This argues an established commerce familiar to his countrymen more than one thousand years before Christ. Let us look to another part of scripture: "Tarshifb (a) was thy merchant (exclaims the prophet Ezekiel) by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead they traded in thy fairs," the fairs of Tyre. This Tarshifb was the city of Tartessus, situated near the pillars of Hercules, and possess the Carthaginians; who found it a very convenient situation for maintaining a commercial intercourse with their original countrymen of Tyre, on the one hand, and with the British Isles, on the

(a) Lowth, in his notes on Isaiah, has thrown some light on this subject, and on the Navigation of the ancients. P. 26. Note on chap. xii. ver. 13—16. "Ships of Tarshish are in scripture frequently used by a metonymy for ships in general, especially such as are employed in carrying on traffic between distant countries; as Tarshish was the most celebrated mart of those times, frequented of old by the Phenicians, and the principal source of wealth to Judea and the neighbouring countries. The learned feem now to be perfectly well ag eed, that Tarshish is Tartessus, a city of Spain, at the mouth of the river Bætis; whence the Phenicians, who first opened this trade, brought filver and gold, (Jer. x. 9. Ezek. xxvii. 12.) in which that country then abounded; and pursuing their voyage ftill further to the Cassiterides, (Bochart. Canaan, 1. cap. 39. Huet, Hist. de Commerce, p. 194.) they brought from thence lead and tin. Tarshish is celebrated in scripture (2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. ix. 21.) for the trade, which Solomon carried on thither, in conjunction with the Tyrians. faphat (1 Kings, xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36.) attempted afterwards to renew that trade; and from the account given of his attempt, it appears, that his fleet was to fail from Eziongeber, on the Red fea: they must therefore have designed to fail round Africa, as Solomon's fleet probably had done before; (see Huet, Histoire de Commerce, p. 32.) for it was a three year's voyage; (2 Chron. ix. 21.) and they brought gold from Ophir, probably on the coast of Arabia, silver from Tartessus, and ivory, apes, and peacocks, from Africa. It is certain, that under Pharaoh Necho, about two hundred years afterward, this voyage was made by the Egyptians, (Herodot. iv. 42.) they failed from the Red Sea, and returned by the Mediterranean, and they performed it in three years; just the fame time that the voyage under Solomon had taken up. It appears likewise from Pliny, (Nat. Hist. 11.67.) that the paffage round the Cape of Good Hope, was known and frequently practifed before his time, by Hanno the Carthaginian, when Carthage was in its glory; and by one Eudoxus, in the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt: and Cælius Antipater, an historian of good credit, somewhat earlier than Pliny, testifies, that he had seen a merchant, who had made the voyage from Gades to Æthiopia. The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, near three hundred years ago, recovered this navigation, after it had been intermitted and lost for many centuries."—P. 130. Note on Chap. xxiii. 1. Howl, O ye Ships of Tarshish.] "This prophecy denounceth the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. It opens with an address to the Tyrian negotiators, and sailors at Tarshish, (Tartessus in Spain) a place which, in the course of their trade, they greatly frequented. The news of the destruction of Tyre, by Nebuchadnezzar, is said to be brought to them from Chittim, the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean: 'For the Tyrians, (says Jerom on ver. 6.) when they saw they had no other means of escaping, sted in their ships, and took refuge in Carthage, and in the islands of the Ionian and Egean sea.' From whence the news would spread and reach Tarshish: so also Jarehi on the place. This feems to be the most probable interpretation of this verse."

to Ophir, or the East Indies, for ivory, apes, and peacocks, more than one thousand years before Christ) was called a navy of Tarshish. And thus Jehosaphat's navy, designed for a voyage to Ophir, but unfortunately broken at Eziongeber, were called ships of Tarshish. This city of Tarshish, so convenient for the British trade with its Tyrian colony, is mentioned by Polybius under the name of Tarseium; where the historian is reciting the words

of a league between the Romans and Carthaginians.

To return to our British commerce—I think we may plainly infer, that if the trading vesfels from Tarshish were so famous in the time of Solomon, as to impart their name by way of distinction to the commercial navies of those days, the Tyrians or Carthaginians must have been long before exercised in the arts of navigation and commerce. Jesus, the son of Sirach, speaking of Solomon's glory, says: "By the name of the Lord God, which is called the Lord God of Israel, thou didst gather gold as tin, and didst multiply filver as lead"—which shews, that tin in those days, was brought in great quantities to the holy land. And it is remarkable, that tin and lead, in this place, are both mentioned, and distinguished: Yet, characteristically different as they are, the ancients often mistook the one metal for the other. By the ships Solomon sent out, he had a return, in one voyage, of no less than four hundred and twenty talents of gold. It is said in Kings: "money was in Jerusalem as fiones for plenty." Tin, therefore, must have almost covered the streets of Jerusalem, to be spoken of in the same figurative way. From these passages, we see that commercial voyages were of high antiquity; that the chief articles of commerce were filver, iron, tin, and lead; and that those articles were in great abundance in Judea, even in the reign of Solomon. The question is, whence those articles were imported: If tin, in its mineral state, were, at this time, unknown to all other countries but our own; there is ample reason to affert, that we supplied all the markets

of Europe and Asia with this commodity, in the earliest ages.

If we recur to heathen authors, we find Homer, who flourished more than nine hundred years before Christ, expressly noticing tin, by its Greek appellation Kassilepos. That the Greeks had the use of tin, and adopted the word Kassilspos to express it before the time of Homer, is evident from his mention of it, more than once, among the metals employed in the fabrication of the shield of Achilles; and also in the greaves for his hero's legs. But that the Greeks were unacquainted with the situation of the islands that produced this metal, five hundred years after the time of Homer, is as evident from Herodotus, who wrote more than four hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, and who confesses his ignorance of the islands called the Cassiterides, whence their tin came, but supposes that it was brought to them (as he says amber was) from the remotest parts of Europe.(a) Ουίο νησες οιδα κασσίΙεριδας εκσας, εκ των ο κασσίΙερος ημιν φοίλα, εξ εςχαίης δ' ων κασσίερος ημιν φοίλα, και το ελεκίρον. From which conjecture of Herodotus, concerning the Cassiterides, we may plainly infer, that they had been discovered by the Phenicians fome time before he wrote; instead of concluding with Carte from this passage, that the Phenician trade with the Britons for tin, did not exist till the very period of Herodotus. Carte's is a most ridiculous supposition. For surely their tin-trade, the particulars of which the Phenicians were interested in concealing from other nations (so that we need not wonder at the ignorance of Herodotus) could never have been so far settled with the Britons, in the course of a few years, as to admit of a negotiation between the Phenicians and Greeks, and a regular interchange of commodities in confequence of this commercial establishment. Before the Phenicians discovered the Cassiterides, they must have taken feveral adventurous voyages, perhaps, to little purpose. On the discovery of those islands, we cannot suppose, that they in a very short time determined their business with the Britons. And it is likely, that when this commerce was absolutely fixed, some little time elapsed before the Phenicians had recourse to the Greeks, for the disposal of their tin. Even when this intercourse was settled, the use of our tin was hardly adopted, throughout all Greece, in an inftant: And it was familiar to the Greeks in the time of Herodotus. So that Carte's supposition is full of absurdity. May we not imagine with much more reason, that the Phenicians were acquainted with the Cassiterides before the time of Homer; fince we have Homer's own authority to fay, that tin was, in his days, well known to his countrymen? This corresponds with Richard, and carries us as far back as the age, when

<sup>(</sup>a) Herodotus. Thalia. III. p. 250, 253. (Edit. Glasg. 1761.)

our island, according to Mr. Whitaker, was first peopled. (a) Those Phenicians then, who traded here, were by no means the modern Phenicians, but Phenicians of a far more ancient race. How the Phenicians or Tyrians could have performed these long voyages from Asia to Britain, may be a question of difficulty: But from the passages I have already quoted, it is plain that they were skilled in navigation. That their descendants, the Carthaginians, were skilful pilots, we have abundant proof. And if, as Strabo tells us, the captain of a Carthaginian vessel, seeing himself followed by a Roman sleet, chose to steer a false course, and land upon another coast, rather than shew the Romans the way to Britain; they certainly had the use of the compass. And the use of the compass must have been derived to them from their progenitors the Tyrians. If it be objected, however, that the Carthaginians, had they possessed the knowledge of the compass, could not easily have concealed it from the Romans, and other nations with whom they were connected, I would hint to the objector, the commercial secrecy of the ancient nations. The precaution, indeed, of the Carthaginians, to guard the compass from common observation, was, at length, the very means, perhaps, of their losing the use of it, themselves. The knowledge of it was intrusted to a few: From these few, it was imperfectly transmitted to others: And the fecret, thus feebly retained, funk gradually away with the possessor of it. But, whether the loss of the compass were owing to this or any other cause, we need not here enquire. No person, who is not ignorant of the history of the arts, will doubt the existence of an art in one period, because it hath disappeared in another. The ancient nations were acquainted with various arts, which have expired, and, after the lapse of ages, have revived. That the voyages of the Phenicians, were not mere coaffing voyages, may be interred, I think, from their monopoly of our trade for feveral centuries. For a long space of time, they carried on a regular trade with this island, to the exclusion of all other nations. Even our neighbours the Gauls were unacquainted with them. But if the Phenicians had been unskilled voyagers, timidly pursuing the line of the coasts, it is impossible that they could have kept their secret, long. They would have frequently exposed themselves to the observation of the maritime people. And curiosity, once awakened, never acquiesces in ignorance. Their periodical return would have been expected and eagerly watched; and their whole scheme of navigation would have been unavoidably detected. Such a discovery would naturally have taken place; even if, by a fingular good fortune, they had escaped the dangers of the sea for hundreds of years, nor ever suffered shipwreck on the coasts, so as to expose their cargo to the eye of the jealous merchant or of the favage plunderer, and, in either case, lay open their destination. This much for the time. (b)

With respect to the place or places, whence our tin was shipped in the time of the Phenicians, many fruitless enquiries have been made. Some say it was shipped from the Cassiterides, without being able to determine, what the Cassiterides were: Others assert, that it was exported from Falmouth, or from St. Michael's Mount, or from the Land's. End. The Greek and Roman writers were so ignorant of geography, and their descriptions are consequently so perplexed, that this point must ever remain a matter of conjecture, as far as it depends on their uncertain testimony. As the ancients had such obscure notions of the situations of countries, they must have been necessarily indistinct in giving names to the places they discovered. Thus Mela mentions some isles of the northern ocean, which he says, "quia plumbo abundant, uno omnes Cassiterides appellant."(c) Why then might not the tin-districts of Devon and Cornwall be included, together with the Scilly Isles, under the name of Cassiterides? Strabo, it is true, says,

(a) And, furely, the Britons were long in possession of the island before their connexion with the Phenicians: For, as I have already observed, it is impossible that the British isles could in a moment be discovered, peopled, and cultivated for the subsistence of their inhabitants, and explored for their mineral treasures, and again found out by eastern adventurers, and frequented for their tin-manufacture!

(c) Mela feems to have been almost as ignorant of these islands, as Herodotus.

<sup>(</sup>b) According to some accounts, the Phenicians (after they had become acquainted with all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and had planted colonies, and built cities on several parts of these coasts, and had carried on an extensive trade with all the countries bordering upon that sea) passed the Straits of Gibraltar, more than 1200 years before the christian æra (Strabo says, soon after the Trojan war) and pushed their discoveries both to the right and left of those Straits. On their right hand, they built the city of Cadiz, on a small island near the coast of Spain, and thence prosecuted their discoveries and their trade with great spirit and advantage, as far as the British islands.

that the Cassiterides are ten in number: But this was, probably, a random assertion. It stands unconfirmed by the testimony of any other writer: And there are, at present, more than one hundred and forty islands that go by the name of the Scilly Isles. Nor should it be forgotten, that Cæsar takes not the least notice of the Scilly Isles; which he certainly would have done, had they monopolized, for centuries, the tin-trade of the world. (a) That Richard of Cirencester understood Devonshire and Cornwall to have been included in the Cassiterides, is plain from his description of Danmonium. He tells us, that the country of the Danmonii abounded in minerals, and was frequented in the earliest ages, first by the Phenicians and atterwards by the Greeks, on account of the tin which it produced in great abundance. As a proof of this commerce, the three chief promontories of the Danmonii, he says, were called Helenis, Occinum, and Kope palwavos; which three names he adds, were partly of Greek, and partly of Phenician origin. Immediately afterwards, he notices the Cassiterides, without saying a word of their tin or their commerce. "Ultra brachium in oceano sitæ sunt insulæ Sygdiles, quæ etiam Oestrominides et Cassiterrides vocabantur, dictæ." (b) In short, we have no soundation for asserting, what is commonly believed, that the Phenicians sirst traded with the inhabitants of the Scilly Isles. And if we place the original trade at Plymouth, or in the neighbourhood of the Tamar, we shall approach, I think, very near the truth.

Among the Phenician exports, the most plentiful commodity was, evidently, our tin.

(a) "That the Phenicians accounted their trade to the Scilly Islands, for tin, of great advantage, and were very jealous of it, is plain from what Strabo fays(1), that a mafter of a Phenician veffel bound hither, perceiving that he was dodged by a Roman, ran his ship ashore, risking his life, ship and cargo (for which he was remunerated out of the public treasury of his country) rather than he would admit a partner in this traffick by shewing him the way to these islands. The Romans, how-ever, persisting in their resolution to have a share in this trade, at last accomplished it. Now, plain it is, that the few workings upon Trefcaw, were not worthy of fuch a competition: Whence, then, had they their tin? I will answer this question as well as I can. Some tin might have been found in the low grounds, washed down from the hills, and gathered together by the floods and rain-some found pulverized among the fands of the fea-shore, washed out of veins covered by the fea, and thrown in upon the sand by the same restless agent. In Cornwall we often find tin in the like situation. There may be, also, tin-veins in those cliffs which we did not visit(2), although the inhabitants, upon enquiry, could not recollect that they contained any thing of that kind; as the Guel-Hill of BREHAR, Guel Island, the name Guel (or Huel) in Cornish fignifying a working for tin. Other tin they had from their mines; for though their mines at present extant are neither ancient nor numerous, yet the ancient natives had mines, and worked them as appears from Diod. Siculus (3), and from Strabo(4), who tells us, that, ' after the Romans had discovered a passage to these islands, Publius Crassus having failed thither and feen them work their mines, which were not very deep, and that the people loved peace, and at their leifure (5) navigation also, instructed them to carry on this trade to a better advantage than they had done before; though the fea they had to crofs was wider than betwixt it and Britain; intimating (if I understand him rightly) that, before that time, the Phenicians and Greeks had engrossed the sole benefit of buying and exporting their tin, and that Publius Crassus, feeing their mines shallow, taught them how to pursue the ore to a greater depth; and, finding the inhabitants peaceably disposed with regard to their neighbours, and therefore the fitter for commerce, and very apt at navigation, and therefore able themselves to carry the product of their country to market, encouraged them to enter upon this gainful trade, and depend no longer on foreign merchants and shipping, although it was somewhat farther for them to sail to the ports of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, than to the coasts of Britain, which had till that time been their longest voyage. Befides the tin therefore, which they found granulated and pulverized in valleys and on the fea-shore, they broke tin out of their mines, though those mines are not now to be found; and, in the last place, it must not be forgotten that the ancients had great part of their tin from the neighbouring coasts of Cornwall, famous for their tin-trade as anciently as the time of Augustus Casar; and whoever sees the land of Cornwall from these islands, must be convinced that the Phenicians and other traders did most probably include the western part of Cornwall among the islands called Cassiterides.

Ortelius is plainly of this opinion, and makes Cornwall a part of the Cassiterides: And Diodorus Siculus (6), does as plainly confound and in his description mix the western parts of Cornwall and the CASSITERIDES indiscriminately one with the other." Borlase's Observations, &c. p. 72 to 76.

(b) Ricard. p. 20, 21.

<sup>(1)</sup> Geog. Lib. iii. (2) I have been lately informed, that, under one of the cliffs of Annet, there is a load, in which there is the appearance of tin, and that it looks as if it had been work'd. (3) Lib. v. Ch. 2. (4) Geogr. Lib. III. (5) i.e. when they were not employed about their tin. (6) Lib. iv. pag. 301. Edit. Han-1604.

Lead was, also, an article of exportation. And not the least valuable article was the skins of wild and tame animals—under which was, probably, comprehended the wool of the British sheep—of great use to the Phenicians in their woollen manufactures. In return, the Britons received from the Phenicians, salt, brass-ware, and pottery. (a) Our earthenware was furnished, we see, by the Phenicians: and I have no doubt but that many of the earthen urns found in our barrows, were fabricated by that people; though, indeed, so

(a) An ingenious correspondent fays: " It is observable that the articles in which the Britons dealt with the Phenicians, imply a fettlement of some standing. They were tin, which requires some skill and labor to bring it to a merchantable state; gold and silver(1), pearls, and the curious dye from the (2) murex, which was here in great abundance, and which, probably, was the boasted Tyrian

dye.

(b) Musgrave, in his Belgæ (p. 160 to 166) speaks thus of the British commerce: "De Gemmis Melæ Britannicis quid dicam, incertus sum, nisi eas e Rupe Bristoliensi, quæ nunc Vincentii dicitur, captas statuam. Profert Adamantes ea perspicuos, pulchros, ab Indiis advectorum æmulos, iisque una duritie secundos: Utrum Melæ ætate reperti suerint, non exploratissimum est; quare in his dicundis non parum hæfito. Judicent eruditi, prout cujufque libido est. Margaritarum vim magnam fuisse, constat ex iis, quas hodie præbent Ostrea Britannica. Nescio an Rutupina, quæ Romanis erant delicio, præ cæteris scaterent Margaritis. Juius Cæsar [Britanniam petiisse dicitur spe Margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferens, interdum sua manu pondus exigeret.] Sed (3) [in Britannia parvos & decolores nasci certum est.] Et(4) Ælianus ait, Margaritam Britannicam magis sulvi coloris esse, minusque splendidam. [Divus Julius Thoracem, quem Veneri Genetriei in Templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis Margaritis sastum voluerit intellegi:] subjecta, inquit (5) Solinus, Inscriptione, quæ id testaretur. Hæc omnia more suo exagitat Is. Voscius, & Gemmas, & boni coloris Margaritas veteri negat Eritanniæ. [Quænam, (6) inquit, sunt illæ Gemmæ? Flumina ista Gemmisera, & Margaritisera mera profecto sunt commenta, ad apparendum sulvi Instructivis triumbham.] commenta, ad apparandum stulti Imperatoris triumphum,] At pace tanti viri, non adeo viles sunt Adamantes supra dicti, quin Julii sæculo facile placerent. Hæ videntur esse Gemmæ prædictae, & Sabrina nostra Flumen illud Gemmiserum, de quo dubitar vir egregie doctus. Margaritas cum Taprobaniticis nostras nequaquam audeo comparare, præcipue si magnitudinis habeatur ratio: at ex Foro nostro Exoniensi Piscatorio, & Margaritis hic repertis si liceat judicare, facile potuit carum in hac Insula comparari, fatis magnarum neque decolorum numerus, qui ad exornandum Veneris Thoracem omnino fufficeret. -- Calx etiam inter εξαγώγιμα merito putanda est; sed quæ Cretam & Margam comprehendit: his enim tribus Agricolæ fæcundant agros. Testantur optimæ sidei Inscriptiones, Artem Calcariam olim a Britannis exerceri, & ut Terra Figularis hodie ad Tubos Tabacarios e Dunmonio, sic Cretam, Margam, & ejufmodi alia ad flercorandos Agros hinc exportari. Calcaria, Brigantum oppidulo, [i. e. Tadcaster) fuisse unam Inscriptionem opinatur Doctiss. (7) Galæus, sed ob literas sugientes & propemodum exefas, vix legendam. Ad quod ad rem nostram maximopere facit, in Colle, cui Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum) insidebat, Fodinæ Cretacæ præcipue frequentabantur, & ab iis Creta in exteras regiones exportabatur. Unde Versificator Anglus

Est ibi defectus Lymfæ, sed copia Cretæ.

Arti Calcariæ præfuit Dea Nehalennia, quæ a Brigantibus, (opinante Clariff. (8) Galæo) forfan etiam a Belgis nostris colebatur. Ei Negotiatores & Mercatores navicularii vota folvebant, ut ex Ara, quæ

(9) Domburgii in Zelandia dudum effossa est, conjicimus. Est autem hujusmodi.

DEAE NEHALENNIAE OB MERCES RITE CONSER VATAS M. SECUND SILVANUS NEGOTTOR URETARIVS BRITANNICIANVS V. S. L. M.

Novam Lunam Nebalennia fignificari volunt nonnulli, quæ certe navigantibus benigna fuit & propitia, fic, ut ea de causa cultu digna videretur. De Gagate Solini Britannico aliquid dicendum: Accipit ille nomen a Gage (tradente (10) Dioscoride) Lyciæ amne, ad cujus Ostium iste Lapis primum inventus est. Aliquando dicitur Lapis Obsidianus; sed Anglice [a Jeatstone.] Succinum nigrum esse

(1) The Muscle Pearl-Musculi, quibus inclusam sæpe margaritam, omnis quidem coloris optimam inveniunt. Ricard. p. 13. (2) Sunt et Cocklex, fatis superque abundantes, quibus tinctura coccinii coloris conficitur, cujus rubor pulcherrimus, hullo unquam folis ardore, nulla valet pluviorum injuria pallescere: sed quo vetustior est, eo solet esse venustior. Ricard. p. 13. The Marex of Devonshire, is noticed in my Sketches of the Natural History.

(4) Δοκεί δε πως χρυσωπότερ δίδειν, είναι τάς τε άυγάς (3) Vide Plinii, Lib. ix. Cap. xxxv. αμβλυθέρας έχων, και σκοτωδετέρας. De Animalibus, Lib. xv. Cap. viii. Ed. Tigurina, Fol.

(5) Vide Solinum, Cap. liii; & in illud, Doctiff. Salmasii Plinianas exercitationes.

(6) Vide ejus Observationes ad Melæ, Lib. iii. Cap. vi. vers. 36. (7) Ad Antonini Iter. ii. pag. 42. (8) pag. 43

(10) Lib. v. Cap. cxlvi. (9) Reinchi Syntagma, p. 190.

easy a workmanship was soon, imitated by the Britons. (b) We are told, that the Phenicians considered their commerce with us of such consequence, that they erected forts and castles on our coasts, for the protection and preservation of it. This was their usual custom in every country where they traded. And it is a certain fact, that they planted colonies along the coasts of the Mediterranean, for the further security of the trade which they had established there. Nothing, therefore, is more probable, than that they coloni-

zed a part of Danmonium

How long (a) the Phenicians enjoyed this trade exclusively, is not certainly known: They, doubtless, took every precaution to conceal the source of their mercantile wealth. Though the Greeks in the time of Herodotus, knew perfectly well, that all the tin which they used, and which they received from the Phenicians, came originally from the Cassiterides, or from Danmonium; yet they could scarcely guess, it seems, at our situation. The Phenician merchants could eafily avoid instructing the Greeks in the course they steered: But the Greeks were acquainted with the names of the tin-countries, in the time of Herodotus. And from their love of novelty, and the restlessiness of their temper (the peculiar characteristic of the Greeks) it is very unlikely, that they should indolently sit at home, indifferent about the commodities of Danmonium (though secondarily experiencing the bleffings of those commodities) when once they were instructed in the art of navigation. That Pytheas, the Greek Philosopher of Marseilles, gave an account of the British isles from his own inspection of them, three hundred and thirty years before Christ, is unquestionable. This geographer was an adventurous mariner, and "is said to have failed as far as the Arctic circle, where there is no night at the fummer folftice." In this voyage, we are told, he found out Iceland. This spirit of adventure, so conspicuous in Pytheas, would be equally discoverable, I conceive, in his countrymen. And, when we confider the connexion of the Greeks with the Phenicians, we should not err, I think, in bringing the Greeks to this island half a century at least before Pytheas. In this case, the Greeks entered Britain about 380 years before Christ. The history of Herodotus containing an obscure hint about the Cassiterides, would, immediately on its publication, have excited the curiofity of fo inquisitive a people. (b) As to the passage in Richard, where the Greek merchants are said to be introduced as coeval with the primitive Phenicians, I do not fee, that it is capable of fuch a conftruction. The passage (which was quoted before with another view) is as follows: "A. M. M. M. M. Circa hac tempora cultam et habitatam primum Brittanniam arbitrantur nonnulli, cum illam falutarent Græci Phænicesque mercatores."(c) The meaning of which seems to be this: "About the year of the world three thousand, the Greek and Phenician commerce was first established

contendit Aldrowandus, cui suffragatur Doctiff: (1) Anselmus B. de Boot. Paleas enim attritu calefactus, Succini instar, trahit, & odorem habet Sulfureum. De eo (2) Solinus [Gagates bic (in Britannia) plurimus optimusque est Lapis; si decorem requiras, nigro gemmeus; si naturam, aqua ardet; oleo restinguitur; Est in Museo (3) Regiæ Societatis hujusmodi Lapis insignis, & in Cleaveland, on the top of Huntly and Whithy Clists, 8 puteis estedi solet in Agro(4) Surreienji qui cum Regnorum olim patria suit Belgio proxime vicina, fortasse an a Belgis hinc exportaretur. Multiplex est Gagatis usus. In Medicina calidæ facultatis esse dictiur, & Mania, Morbo comitiali, sicut etiam Hysterico correptos Suffitu liberare. Diureticus est, & Hydropicis, urinam movendo, prodest. Oleum ejus destillatum maxime prædicatur ad Dæmoniacos, (id est, Epilepticos) Paralysin, Convulsionem, Tetanum, ad Podagram frigidam, omnesque frigidas Fluxiones, parti affectæ illitum: Unde Podagricis remediis & Acopis adnumeratur. Pulvis ejus ad unius Drachmæ pondo, ex Vino hauftus ad tempus aliquod, Colicam integre fanare dicitur. Emollit, difcutit, (5) Diofcoride teste; unde adversus sedis affectiones, quam levissime tritus, (6) Ætii judicio valet; & ad Condylomata, eum Scribonii Largi Emplastrum habet. Ornabantur eo Galeæ, Scuta, Gladii: Mundum etiam muliebrem ingrediebatur; Fæminarum Aures, Colla, Pectoraque, colore contrario, commendabant. Hinc Aurium lobis etiam nunc appenditur ex eo Inauris; Collo Monile: in quibus Puellæ non parum gloriantur. Denique ad preces numerandas, in globulos formatus, & filo trajectus, nonnullis est in usu."

(a) After the first ages of the Phenician commerce, the Tyrian colonies of Carthage and of Cadiz,

carried on the Danmonian tin-trade, conjunctively.

(b) Polybius, the Greek, wrote his large treatife on the tin-manufacture of Danmonium, about two hundred years before the christian æra. And Polybius was a very accurate historian. And he, probably, received his intelligence from the Grecian colony fettled long before in Danmonium.

(c) Ricard. p. 50.

<sup>(4)</sup> De Lapidibus & Gemmis in Specie. Lib. 2. Cap. clxiii. & feqq. (2) V. Solinum, Cap. xxii. & in illud Doct. Sal-(3) V. Museum Reg. Societ. edente Neh Grew, Partem. iii. Cap. ii. mafii Plinianas Exercitationes. (4) Vide Additamenta ad Camdeni Comitatum Surty. (5) Loco jam citato. (6) Lib. 2, tetrabibli, Cap. 24.

Richard does not mean to fay, that the Greeks actually traded to this island about the year three thousand: Had he intended specifically to describe the merchants, and the exact time when they respectively traded with the British islanders, he would, doubtless, have placed *Phanices* before *Graeci*; for he must surely have known, that in point of time, the Phenicians were prior to the Greeks. This is plain, from his observing in another place, where he wishes to discriminate between the different merchants who traded here, that that country (Danmonium) " utpote metallis abundantem, Phanicibus Græcis et Gallis mercatoribus probe notam fuisse."(a) Here the Phenician, Greek, and Gaulish merchants come successively, in the proper order of time: And to have inverted this order, would have been a glaring impropriety. Yet in the very next period, where Richard is pointing out to us the etymologies of places, we see the Greeks again put over the head of the Phenicians-(b) Gracam Phanicianque originem. Nothing, therefore, can be clearer than that, in the passage first quoted, our author speaks in general terms, and that he simply intends to mark the first establishment of the ancient British trade in this island: And whether this trade were entitled, the Greek and Phenician, or the Greek only, would be little to the purpose. Who the first Greeks that came into this island, were, is uncertain. But, in process of time, the Greeks of Marseilles obtained a confiderable share of the British trade: And tin, lead, and skins, are said to have been the commodities which the Greeks exported from Britain. And their imports were, possibly, the same as the Phenician. In the mean time, the Greeks of Marfeilles endeavoured, like the Phenicians, to conceal their commerce with the British isles from other nations. Strabo tells us, from Polybius, that the Greeks pretended a total ignorance of the British isles, when questioned by the famous Scipio, respecting their situation or productions. With respect to the Roman trade with Danmonium, before the time of Cæsar, there is very great uncertainty. Yet we are told, that the Romans, after they became acquainted with navigation (which was not till after the first Punic war, about two hundred and fixty years before Christ) sent out a vessel in pursuit of the Phenicians, in order to discover the place where they traded for tin. But the Phenician mariner, suspecting the design of the Romans, voluntarily ran his ship among shallows, to decoy his pursuers into the same perilous fituation, from which their imperfect skill in navigation would not enable them to emerge; whilst he knew how to disengage himself and his ship, with some present loss indeed, but little or no danger. That he did not sink his ship, or go down to the bottom with his crew and all, as some writers have imagined, is sufficiently clear from Strabo; who tells us, that, preserving himself from shipwreck, he was afterwards paid, out of the public treasury, an equivalent for the loss of his cargo. Notwithstanding every precaution of the Phenicians, the Romans, as Strabo assures us, at length discovered the situation of the tin-countries. In consequence of this, Publius Crassus came hither with the discoverers, and made observations on the tin-mines, then of no great depth, and the disposition of the people to peace, and their readiness to give directions to voyagers. Who Publius Crassus was, or when he made this expedition in quest of our tin, we are not informed: But his voyage was certainly posterior to the first Punic war, when the Romans were little acquainted with the feas.

I have already remarked, that it is very uncertain from what places the primitive Phenicians exported our commodities: And there is the same dubiousness in regard to the ports in Danmonium, which were frequented by the subsequent merchants.

The channel through which the trade of Britain was at one time carried on, is obscurely marked by Diodorus Siculus. The passage to which I allude, hath exercised much conjecture: It is as follows, together with the context. Nov de περί τε καθ αυθην φυσμενε κασσίερε διεξίμεν. Της γαρ βρεθτανικης κατα το ακρωτηριον το καλεμενον Βελεριον οι καθοικενίες φιλοξένοι τε διαφεροντως εισί, και δια την των ξένων εμπορων επιμιξίαν εξημερωμένοι τας κυγωγας. ετοι τον κασσίθερον καθασκευαζεσί, φιλοτεχνώς εργαζομένοι την φερεσαν αυτον γην. Αυτη δε πετρωδης εσα, διαφυας εχει γεωδείς, εν αις τον πορον κατεργαζομένοι και τηξαντές καθαιρεσίν. Αποτυπενθές δ' εις ασραγαλών ρυθμές, κομίζεσιν εις τηνα νησον προκειμένην μέν της βρεθτανικής, ονομαζομένην δε Ικίιν. Κατα γαρ τας αμπωτείς, αναξηραινόμένε τε μεθαξύ τοπε, ταις αμαξαίς εις ταυτην κομίζεσι δαφιλή τον κατσίθερον. Ιδίον δε τι συμβαίνει περί τας πλησίον νησες, τας μεταξύ κειμένας της τε Ευρωπης και της βρεθτανικής. Κατα μέν τας πλημμυρίδας τε μεθαξύ πορε πληρεμένε νησοι φαινονθεί. Καθα δε τας αμπωθείς απορρεθτης της θαλαστίς,

θαλασσης, και πολυν τοπον αναξηραινεσης, θεωρενίαι χερρονησοι. ενίευθοι δ'οι εμποροι παρα των εγχωριων ωνενίαι, και διακομιζεσιν εις την Γαλαίιαν. Το δε τελευίαιον πεζη δια της Γαλαίιας πορευθενίες ημερας ως τριακονία, καταγεσιν επι των ιππων τα φορίια προς την εκδολην among other particulars, that "the people who inhabited the extreme parts of Cornwall, after they have prepared their tin for exportation, carry it in waggons to the Isle of Wight." According to the interpretation of others, Ixlis is supposed to mean, one of the Isles of Scilly, or the Black-rock of Falmouth. Among those, who entertain the common idea, are Dr. Henry and Mr. Whitaker: The advocates for a new construction, are Borlase, and Pryce. Before I venture to give my own opinion on this passage, I shall present my readers with the sentiments of these different writers. First, then, for the common idea. Dr. Henry writes thus: "Whether the Greeks of Marseilles were discouraged from continuing to trade directly with Britain, by the length and danger of the voyage, or by the wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, which rendered the navigation of the Mediterra-nean very unsafe, we cannot be certain. But this we know from the best information, that the trade between Britain and Marfeilles, after some time, began to be carried on in a different manner, and through a different channel. Of this we have the following plain account from Diodorus Siculus: 'These Britons who dwell near the promontory of Belerium (the Land's-end) live in a very hospitable and polite manner, which is owing to their great intercourse with foreign merchants. They prepare, with much dexterity, the tin which their country produceth. For though this metal is very precious, yet when it is first dug out of the mine it is mixed with earth, from which they separate it, by melting and refining. When it is refined, they cast it into ingots, in the shape of cubes or dies, and then carry it into an adjacent island, which is callect Ictis (Wight). For when it is low-water, the space between that island and the continent of Britain becomes dry land; and they carry great quantities of tin into it in their carts and waggons. Here the merchants buy it, and transport it to the coast of Gaul; from whence they convey it over land, on hories, in about thirty days, to the mouth of the Rhone.' As Marfeilles is fituated near the mouth of the river Rhone, we may be certain that it was the place to which the British tin was carried, and that from thence the merchants of Mar-feilles sent it into all parts of the world to which they traded. It is not so clear, from the above account of Diodorus Siculus, who were the foreign merchants who purchased the tin from the Britons in the Isle of Wight, transported it to the coast of Gaul, and from thence over land to Marfeilles. Some imagine that they were Greeks from Marfeilles, who had factories established in the Isle of Wight, and on the coast of Gaul, for the management of this trade; while others think that they were Gauls, and that the people of Marseilles remained quietly at home, and received the British tin, and other commodities, from the hands of these Gaulish merchants. There seems to be some truth in both these opinions; and it is most probable that the merchants of Marseilles, finding the difficulties and dangers of trading directly to Britain by sea, contrived the scheme of carrying on that trade over the continent of Gaul; and fent agents of their own to begin the execution of this scheme. But they could not but soon discover that it was impossible to carry on a trade through so great an extent of country, without the consent and affiftance of the inhabitants; and that it was necessary to employ them, first as their carriers, and afterwards as their agents. By this means, some of the Gauls becoming acquainted with the nature and profits of this trade, engaged in it on their own account. For it is certain that the Gauls were instructed in trade as well as in arts and learning, by the Greeks of Marseilles. It is evident that the Isle of Wight was the place from whence these

<sup>(</sup>a) Nune de stanno, quod illio essocitur, dicendi locus est. Qui Belerium Britanniæ promontorium accolunt, bospitales sunt apprime, et propter mercatorum illic commercia mansuetiore vitæ cultu. Hi stannum, terra, quæ illud parturit, solerti opere subacta, consiciunt. Quæ cum petricosa sit, venas quasdam babet terrestres, e quibus erutum metalli proventum liquesaciunt et expurgant. Talorum deinde modo conformatum in quandam Britanniæ adjectam Insulain, cui nomen Ictis, deportant. Dum enim per ressiumis intervallum locus in medio desiccatur, plaustris interim largam stanni vim transvestant. Insulis hisce vicinis, quæ Europam atque Britanniam interjacent, peculiare quippiam accidit. Trastus enim ille, sub inundationem æstus, aquis oppletus, Insulas esse ostendit. decedente per reciprocationem mari, ingens loci spacium, aquis desestum, peninsularum speciem reddit. Inde stannum ab incolis emtum in Galliam mercatores transferunt. Et xxx dierum itinere per Galliam pedestri sarcinas equis impositas, ad Rhodani tandem ostia deportant. Diod. Sicul. Wesseling. tom 1. p. 346, 347.

foreign merchants, whether Greeks or Gauls, exported the British tin; but we are not told at what port of Gaul it was landed. (a) A modern writer, of great learning, hath engaged in a long and particular discussion of this point; and after examining several different opinions, he concludes at last, that Vennes, in Britanny, was the port at which the goods exported from Britain were disembarked. It is, however, probable that the merchants of Gaul landed their goods from Britain at different ports, as it suited best their own situation and conveniency." (b) Dr. Henry is sufficiently accurate in his translation of this passage from Diodorus. It is, therefore, very extraordinary, that whilst he introduces the Britons of the Land's-end carrying their tin into an adjacent island (moon mponeimenn) he should at the same instant determine this island to be the Isle of Wight lying off the coast of Hampshire! According to this writer, the Cornish could pass with their waggons, from the Land's-end to the Isle of Wight, whenever they thought proper. It was but a step: And they could go over dryshod with all imaginable ease!

By some strange magic, indeed, the Isle of Wight, in Hampshire, used, in the days of Diodorus, to be directly opposite and almost adjoining to the Land's-end in Cornwall. Thus, also, Mr. Whitaker: "The Greeks of Marseilles first followed the course of the Phenician voyagers; and some time before the days of Polybius, and about two hundred years before the age of Christ, began to share with them in the trade of tin. The Carthaginian commerce declined. The Massylian increased. And, in the reign of Augustus, the whole current of the British traffick had been gradually diverted into this channel. At that period the trade of the island was very considerable. Two roads were laid across it, and reached from Sandwich to Caernarvon on one fide and from Dorfetshire into Suffolk on the other; and the commerce of the shores was carried along them into the interiour parts of the country. The great staple of the tin was no longer fettled in a distant corner of the island. It was removed from Scilly, and fixed in the Isle of Wight, a central part of the coast, lying equally betwixt the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangements of the trade. Thither the tin was brought by the Belgæ, and thither the foreign merchants reforted with their wares. And the trade was no longer carried on by veffels that coasted tediously along the shores of Spain and Gaul. The tin was now transported over the neighbouring channel, unshipped on the opposite coast, and sent upon horses across the land or by boats along the rivers to Marseilles and Narbonne. And the Veneti of Gaul were the merchants, that reforted to the Isle of Wight with their veffels, that bartered with the Britons for their metal, and transmitted it across the continent afterwards. This ifle, which is now separated from the remainder of Hampshire by a channel little more than half a mile in breadth about the point of Hurst-castle, was then a part of the greater island, disjoined from it only by the tide, and united to it at the ebb. And, during the recess of the waters, the Britons constantly passed over the low isthmus of land with their cart-loads of tin. This was also the case with many other places on the foutberly shore of Britain, which appeared as islands only on the tide of flood, and became peninfulas at the ebb." (c) Here all is beautifully confiftent with the general narrative and with itself. But, as Mr. Whitaker informs us, that " many other places on the southerly shore of Britain, appeared as islands only on the tide of flood, and became peninsulas at the ebb;" I think we may be warranted in fixing on some other spot on the south-coast of Danmonium, less liable to objections than the Isle of Wight. It was with this notion, that Borlase and Pryce have attempted a new construction of the famous passage before us. Borlase, in his Natural History of Cornwall, says: "The short description which we have of the tin-trade in Diodorus Siculus, must not be omitted, though it is too general for us to learn many particulars from it. 'These men (says he, meaning the tinners) manufacture their tin by working the grounds which produce it with great art. For though the land is rocky, it has foft veins of earth running through it in which the tinners find the treasure, extract, melt, and purify it; then shaping it (by moulds) into a kind of cubical figure, they carry it off to a certain island lying near the British shore, which they call Ictis; for at the recess of the tide, the space betwixt the island and the main land being dry, the tinners embrace the opportunity, and carry their tin in carts, as fast as may be, over to the Ictis (or port); for it must be observed, that the islands which lie betwixt the continent and Britain, have this fingularity, that when tide is full, they are real islands; but when the sea retires, they are but so many peninfulæ. From

(a) See Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. 16, p. 168.

<sup>(</sup>b) Vol. 1. p. 381, 382. (c) Manchester, vol. 2. p. 170 to 172.

this island the merchants buy the tin of the natives, and export it into Gaul; and, finally, through Gaul, by a journey of about thirty days, they bring it down on horses to the mouth of the Erydanus, meaning the Rhone(a). In this description it will naturally occur to the inquisitive reader to ask, where this Icus was, to which the Cornist carried their melted tin in carts, and there sold it to the merchants. I really cannot inform him s but by the Ichis here, it is plain that the Historian could not mean the Ichis or Vectis of the ancients (at present called the Isle of Wight), for he is speaking of the Britons of Cornwall, and, by the words, it should seem, those of the most western parts. The yay Belavium unla to augulações to un este person Belegios os un aloquestes, Er. Oblos tos un actorileções un alaquesa personas, that is, " those who live at the extreme end of Britain, called Belerium (b), find, drese, melt, carry, and sell their tin." Now it would be absurd to think that these inhabitants should carry in carts their tin near two hundred miles (for so far distant is the Isle of Wight from them) when they had at least as good miles (for so far distant is the Isle of Wight from them) when they had at least as good ports and harbours on their own shores as they could meet with there: Besides, these inhabitants are said, in the same paragraph, to have been more than ordinarily civilized by conversing with strangers and merchants. Those merchants then must have been very conversant in Cornwall, there trassicked for tin, that is, there bought, and thence exported the tin, or they could have no business there; their residence would have been in some of the ports of Hampshire; and Cornwall could scarce have felt the influence of their manners, much less have been improved and civilized by them at that distance. Again: the Cornish, after the tin was melted, carried it at low-water over to the Istis in carts. This will by no means suit the situation of the Isle of Wight, which is at least two miles distant from the main land, and never (as far as we can learn) has been alternately an island and a peninsula, as the tide is in and out. The Istis therefore here mentioned, must lie somewhere near the coast of Cornwall, and must either have been a general name must lie somewhere near the coast of Cornwall, and must either have been a general name for any peninsula on a creek, (Ik being a common Cornish word, denoting a Cove, Creek, or Port of traffick,) or the name of some particular peninsula and common emporium on the same coast, which has now lost its istmus, name, and perhaps wholly disappeared, by means of some great alterations on the sea-shore of this county. (c) In his ancient and present state of the Isles of Scilly, Borlase ventures to give his opinion upon the point? Diodorus Siculus (says he) talking of the Promontory Belevium, alias Bolevium, the tin-commerce, and courteous behaviour of the inhabitants, says, that they carried this tin to an adjoining British Isle called ICTIS, to which at low tide they could have this tin to an adjoining British Isle called Ictis, to which at low tide they could have access. Now there was no such island as Ictis on the western coasts of Cornwall in the time of Diod. Siculus, neither is there at present any one with the properties he mentions, unless it be St. Michael's Mount; and the separation between that and the Continent must have been made long since that time. By the first, therefore, Diod. Siculus can mean nothing but the Lands-end, by the geographers called Belerium; but (confounding the tin-trade of those western parts of Cornwall with that carried on in Scilly) by the second, he means one of the Scilly Isles, to which they conveyed their tin before exportation from the other smaller islands; for thus he goes on, 'There is one thing peculiar to these Islands (meaning, that there was no such thing in the Mediterranean, where the sea stands nearly of one height) which lie between Britain and Europe, for at sull sea they appear to be Islands, but at low water, for a long way, they look like so many Peninsula's;' a description exactly answering the appearance of the Scilly islands, which were at that time successively Islands and Peninsula's, and lie between Europe and Britain, were at that time fuccessively Islands and Peninsula's, and lie between Europe and Britain, as the old authors all agree, but, through the inaccuracy in geography, were not able to point out the fituation of these islands more distinctly. This Ictis of Diod. Siculus is probably the same Island which Pliny, from Timeus, calls "Mictis, about six days sail from Britain, said to be fertile in tin;" where I must observe, that the distance here laid down is no objection to Mictis's being one of the Scilly Isles, for when the ancients reckoned this place six days sail, they did not mean from the nearest part of Britain, but from the place most known, and frequented by them (i. e. by the Romans and Gauls) which was that part of Britain nearest to, and in sight of Gaul, from which to the Scilly Islands the distance was indeed for days usual sail in the early times of pavication, there-Islands the distance was indeed fix days usual fail in the early times of navigation; there-

<sup>(</sup>a) Rhodanus, fays the Latin translation; to Marfeilles, fays Possidonius, in Strabo, lib. ni. page 147, edit. Par. 1620. (b) Now called the Land's-End. (c) p. 176, 177.

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<sup>(</sup>a) See Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. 16, p. 168.

<sup>(</sup>b) Vol. 1. p. 381, 382. (c) Manchester, vol. 2. p. 170 to 172.

this island the merchants buy the tin of the natives, and export it into Gaul; and, finally, through Gaul, by a journey of about thirty days, they bring it down on horses to the mouth of the Erydanus, meaning the Rhone(a). In this description it will naturally occur to the inquisitive reader to ask, where this Icus was, to which the Cornish carried their melted tin in carts, and there fold it to the merchants. I really cannot inform him ; but by the Ichis here, it is plain that the Historian could not mean the Ichis or Vectis of the ancients (at present called the Isle of Wight), for he is speaking of the Britons of Cornwall, and, by the words, it should seem, those of the most western parts. The yag Beelaviums καθα το ακεωθηρίον το καλυμένον Βελερίον οι καθοικώνες, &c. Οθοι τον κασσίθερον ralagreva (sor pixolexpas, that is, " those who live at the extreme end of Britain, called Belerium (b), find, dress, melt, carry, and sell their tin." Now it would be absurd to think that these inhabitants should carry in carts their tin near two hundred miles (for so far distant is the Isle of Wight from them) when they had at least as good ports and harbours on their own shores as they could meet with there: Besides, these inhabitants are said, in the same paragraph, to have been more than ordinarily civilized by conversing with strangers and merchants. Those merchants then must have been very conversant in Cornwall, there trassicked for tin, that is, there bought, and thence exported the tin, or they could have no business there; their residence would have been in some of the ports of Hampshire; and Cornwall could scarce have felt the influence of their manners, much less have been improved and civilized by them at that distance. Again: the Cornish, after the tin was melted, carried it at low-water over to the Ictis in carts. This will by no means suit the situation of the Isle of Wight, which is at least two miles distant from the main land, and never (as far as we can learn) has been alternately an island and a peninsula, as the tide is in and out. The Istis therefore here mentioned, must lie somewhere near the coast of Cornwall, and must either have been a general name for any peninsula on a creek, (Ik being a common Cornish word, denoting a Cove, Creek, or Port of traffick,) or the name of some particular peninsula and common emporium on the same coast, which has now lost its istmus, name, and perhaps wholly disappeared, by means of some great alterations on the sea-shore of this county. (c) In his ancient and present state of the Isles of Scilly, Borlase ventures to give his opinion upon the point? Diodorus Siculus (says he) talking of the Promontory Belerium, alias Bolerium, the tin-commerce, and courteous behaviour of the inhabitants, fays, that they carried this tin to an adjoining British Isle called Icris, to which at low tide they could have access. Now there was no such island as ICTIS on the western coasts of Cornwall in the time of Diod. Siculus, neither is there at present any one with the properties he mentions, unless it be St. Michael's Mount; and the separation between that and the Continent must have been made long since that time. By the first, therefore, Diod. Siculus can mean nothing but the Lands-end, by the geographers called Belerium; but (confounding the tin-trade of those western parts of Cornwall with that carried on in SCILLY) by the second, he means one of the SCILLY Isles, to which they conveyed their tin before exportation from the other smaller islands; for thus he goes on, 'There is one thing peculiar to these Islands (meaning, that there was no such thing in the Mediterranean, where the sea stands nearly of one height) which lie between Britain and Europe, for at full sea they appear to be Islands, but at low water, for a long way, they look like so many Peninsula's; a description exactly answering the appearance of the Scilly islands, which were at that time successively Islands and Peninsula's, and lie between Europe and Britain, as the old authors all agree, but, through the inaccuracy in geography, were not able to point out the fituation of these islands more distinctly. This Icris of Diod. Siculus is probably the same Island which Pliny, from Timaus, calls "MICTIS, about six days sail from Britain, said to be fertile in tin;" where I must observe, that the distance here laid down is no objection to MICTIS's being one of the SCILLY Isles, for when the ancients reckoned this place fix days sail, they did not mean from the nearest part of Britain, but from the place most known, and frequented by them (i. e. by the Romans and Gauls) which was that part of Britain nearest to, and in fight of Gaul, from which to the SCILLY Islands the distance was indeed six days usual fail in the early times of navigation; there-

<sup>(</sup>a) Rhodanus, fays the Latin translation; to Marseilles, says Possidonius, in Strabo, lib. ni. page 147, edit. Par. 1620. (b) Now called the Land's-End. (c) p. 176, 177.

fore I am apt to think, that by MICTIS here, Pliny meant the largest of the SCILLY Isles(a), as I do not at all doubt but Diodorus Siculus also did, in the passage mentioned above."(b) Dr. Pryce has gratified us with a conjecture on this topic, which is, at least, plausible. "It has been hitherto (says the Doctor) an object of enquiry, from whence our Tin was shipped in the time of the Phenicians: some say from the Cassiterides or Scilly Islands; Bolerium, or the Land's-end; others say, from St. Michael's Mount; and others, from Ostium Kenionis Valubia, or Falmouth. The ignorance of true geography and navigation in the times of Timæus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and all the ancient historians and geographers, was so great, and their descriptions so obscure and contradictory, that it may ever remain a matter of conjecture and controversy, whence our Tin was exported for Phenicia or Rome, by the records they have left behind them. It feems probable, that they included the promontory of Bolerium among the Cashterides, and denominated all the fouth-western coast of Cornwall as part of them; which being the first land discovered by the navigators of those days, gave one general appellation to Without partiality to any particular opinion, we must own the harbour of Falmouth seems to us the most commodious, both for natives and foreigners, to have carried on the business for exportation of this grand monopoly, which supplied all the Mediterranean markets: and we are not fingular in this thought, but are very plaufibly fupported by a learned collator of our own country, in whose MS. we find an ingenious etymology and topographical agreement in relation to the matter before us. 'This harbour of Falmouth has been famous over Europe and Asia ever fince the island was first known, though but darkly distinguished by the Greeks and Romans under several appellations; for instance, by one (in Greek) 'the Mouth of the Dunmonii Island: for neither Greeks nor Romans knew whether this province of the Dunmonii was an island of itself, or part of the infular continent of Britain, till the time of the Roman emperor Domitian, when he circumnavigated the whole island with his fleet. Besides, it was the custom of the Jews and Greeks, to call remote and strange lands, Islands, and the natives, Islanders: to which purpose we read, Island Ixvi. 19. 'Tubal, Javan, and the isles afar off," which were the continent of Greece and Spain." Also, Genesis x. 5. and elsewhere, by the name of the isles are meant the islands, and in general all the provinces of Europe. And it is observable, that where the prophet Isaiah foretels the calling of the Gentiles, he makes particular mention of the islands, (chap. xli. xlii. xlix. li. lx.) which many interpreters have looked upon as a plain intimation, that the Christian religion should take deepest root in those parts of the world, which were separated from the Jews by the fea, and peopled by the posterity of Japhet, who settled themselves in the islands of the Gentiles. So that the islands, in the prophetical stile, seem particularly to denote the western part of the world, the west being often called the sea in scripture language. But to proceed: Strabo calls this mouth of the Vale river, Oftium Kenionis, and more properly Valuba, or Valubia; that is, the wall, defence, point, or promontory, of the faid vale, now St. Anthony's Point; or Val-Ubii from the colony of the Ubii, a people of Belgia, who planted themselves on the Vale river before Cæsar's days. Further, Diodorus Siculus tells us, that all Tin was fetched out of Britain: as it is in some authors, after the Greek version, from Naos Ixta, Ki Oxta, which seems to say in British, first, the Good Lake, or Haven Island, and the second (what we now call Bud-Ok) a Bay of Oak Island; and, indeed, the memory of such Ike seems yet preserved in the present names of Car-ike road, the chief part of Falmouth harbour, from whence, to this day, the major part of our Tin is still exported; and Arwynike, and Bud-ike lands, by which the said harbour is bounded. Now, this word Ike, I am informed, is derived trom the same Japhetical origin as the Greek nuo, venio, to come, arrive at, or enter into a place; and, therefore, as aforefaid, in Cornish British, it means not only a haven of the fea for traffic, but a place where a river of water hath its current into the fea; from whence, perhaps, the Latins had their Ictus, to fignify the course of a river. And from this etymology, we may the better understand the words of Diodorus Sicu-The Island which he calls Ictam or Icta, adjoining with Britain, is certainly that which is now called the Black Rock Island in Car-ike road aforesaid; which, as he faid, was then an island at flood or full sea, though at low water passable from the main land. There is also a Cornish MS. of the Creation of the World, a Play, brought into Oxford in 1450, and which is still extant in the Bodleian library there; which will at the same time ferve to evince, that the now Black rock of Falmouth was in old time the Island, the Ikta of Diodorus Siculus, from which Tin was transported into Gaul. Leland the elder, in his Itinerary, tells us, that this river was encompassed with the loftiest woods, oaks, and timber trees, that the kingdom afforded, in the time of Hen. VII, and was therefore, by the Britons, called Cassi-tir, and Cassi-ter; that is to say, Woodland. From which place and haven, the Greeks fetching Tin, called it and the Island, so often here mentioned, in their language, Cassiteros. In surther praise of which famous port, may the reader accept the following lines:

In the calm fouth Valubia's harbour stands,
Where Vale with sea doth join its purer hands;
'Twixt which, to ships commodious port is shown,
That makes the riches of the world its own.
Ike-ta, and Vale, the Britons chiefest pride,
Glory of them, and all the world beside,
In sending round the treasures of its tide.
Greeks and Phenicians here of old have been;
Fetching from hence, surs, hides, pure corn, and Tin,
Before great Cæsar sought Cassibelyn."(a)

Having

(a) Pryce's Mineral. Introd. p. iii. to vii. The above, we find, is borrowed from Hals or Halfe: It occurs in Halfe's Parochial History of Cornwall. As there is an entertaining fingularity in this writer's manner, and a fmall part only of his history hath been printed (and of this only a few copies) I shall here permit Mr. Halse to speak at large for himself, though the substance of his theory appears in the text. "Falmouth, alias Val-mouth, alias Vale-mouth, a Rectory, is situate (says Halfe) in the hundred of Kerryer, and hath upon the north Bud-ike, east the haven or harbour of Falmouth, fouth the Black Rock and Pendenis Caftle, west part of Bud-ike and the British Channel. For the name, it's taken from the Vale river's mouth, which here empties itfelf into the British ocean. And the river itself takes its name from the original fountain in Roach under Haynesburreugh, called Pen-ta-vale Fenton, or Venton; that is to say, the bead or chief good or consecrated spring, or well of water or river Valley; alias Pen ta-vail fenton, i. e. the sacred or consecrated samous bead well or spring of water: From thence called the Vale river. This place in Cornish is called Val genow, or Falgenue; in Saxon Val-mun; in English Vale-mouth, fynonymous therewith. This harbour of VALE-Mouth hath been famous over Europe and Asia ever fince this island was first known; though but darkly diffinguished by the Greeks and Romans under several appellations; for instance by one (in Greek) fignifying the Mouth of the Danmonii Island: For in former days neither Greeks nor Romans knew whether this province of the Danmonii was an island of itself, or part of the insular continent of Britain; no, not 'till the time of the Roman Emperor Domitian, when he circum-navigated the whole island with his flect of thips. Besides, 'twas the custom of the Jews and Greeks to call remote and strange lands Islands, and the natives Islanders: To which purpose we read, (Isaiab lvi. 19.) Tubal, Javan, and the Isles afar off; which were the Continent of Greece and Spain. Again; Strabo calls this mouth of the Vale river Ostium Cenionis; who also more plainly speaks of this place under the names of Valuba and Voluba: A corruption either of the British word Val-eba, i. e. the ebbing, flowing, budling, or flashing, of the Vale river; or Val-ubia, that is, the point or promontory of the said Vale, now St. Anthony's Point; or Val-Ubii, from the colony of the Ubii, a people of Belgia, that planted themselves on the Vale river before Casar's days. From which Ubii might come Corn-ubi-ensis. Again; Diodorus Siculus tells us that all tin was setched out of Britain; as it is in fome authors, after the Greek version, from Nnoos In-Ta, x1 Ox-Ta, [Nefos, Ik-ta, ki Oc-ta.] which feems to fay in British, the first, the Good Lake, cove, or haven, island, and the fecond (what we now call Bud-ok) a bay of Oak Island. And indeed the memory of fuch Ike feems yet preferved in the prefent names of Car-ike road, the chief part of the harbour of Falmouth (from whence comparatively still all tin is transported) and Ar-vyn-ike and Bud-ike lands, by which the faid harbour is bounded. Now, this word Ike, I am inform'd, is derived from the same Japherical origin as the Gr. nxw, [eko] venie, to arrive at, or enter into a place; and therefore, as afore-faid, in Cornish British it fignifies not only a haven, harbour, or creek, of the sea for traffick, but a place where a river of water hath its current into the fea, or other places of water. From whence perhaps the Latins had their Istus to fignify the course of a river. And from this exposition, or etymology, we may the better understand Diodorus Siculus's words, as out of the Greek rendered into Latin, thus :- Britani, qui juxta Valerium promontorium [a corruption of Pel-ter-an Promontorium, i. e. the remote or far-off promontory of land; viz. the Land's End of Cornwal]-incolunt, mercatoribus, qui eo stanni gratia nawigant, humaniores reliquis erga bospites babentur. Hi ex terra saxosa, cujus venas quuti, effodiunt stannum; quod, per ignem eductum, in quandam insulam ferunt Britannicam juxta, quam Ictam vocant. Maris fluxu videntur infulæ; cum vero refluit exficeato interjecto littore curribus eo fran-VOL. I.

Having thus laid before my readers the common interpretation of the passage in question, as well as what I have called the new theories concerning it, I proceed to state my objections

num deferunt, &c. Ex his insulis mercatores emptum stannum in Galliam portant; inde diehus sere triginta cum equis ad sontem Eridani stuminis perducunt. h. e. 'The Britons who inhabit near the Promontory Valerium (or the Land's End) are by the merchants who thither sail for tin, accounted more courteous or civil to strangers than the rest are. These people, pursuing the course of its veins, out of the rocky earth dig tin; which commodity, being melted or run down by fire, they carry to a certain British island nigh, which they name Isla. In time of highwater indeed they appear islands; but at ebb, the shore between them and the (infular) continent being dry, they thither in carriages convey the tin, &c. From which islands the merchants transported the tin they purchase into Gaul, &c. The Island which he calls Islam, or Isla, adjoining thus with Britain, is certainly that which is now called the Black Rock Island, in Car-ike road aforesaid; which, as he said, was then an Island, at flood or full fea, tho' at low water paffable from the main land. Which was then a true description thereof; tho' fince by the raging flux and reflux of the fea the faid lands and rocks are fo much wash'd away, that it is not now passable to the said Black Rock Island on foot at low water from Arwinic lands contiguous. From or by which place the tin then made was, and still is, by merchants transported into France; and from thence in those days it was carried thirty days journey on horseback; and so over the Alps into Italy, even to the fountain Eridanus, now called the Po. This harbour of FALMOUTH, as mariners declare, is in all respects the largest and safest haven for ships which this island of Britain affords. Its mouth or entrance from the British ocean, between the castles of St. Marus and Pendenis (fituate one in St. Anthony, the other in Falmouth parishes) is about a mile and half wide; the centre or middle thereof above a league from the said mouth or entrance up the VALE river, by the very Rock Island aforesaid, to Car-ike Road, King's Road, and Turner's Were. South east, about two leagues from thence, still on the Vale river, a navigable arm or chanel of the faid harbour extendeth itself up the country, by Tregny; to the bridge place of which formerly it was navigable. And it is overlooked on the south east tide by St. Anthony, St. Just, Philley, Ruan-Lawny-Horne, and Cuby parishes. Within the said parishes of St. Just and St. Anthony are also two navigable creeks or channels. Here stands the castle and incorporate town of St. Mawes, where formerly stood a monastery of black canons Augustine, dedicated to the Virgin MARY, called St. Mary de Vale, for that it was fituate on the Vale harbour or river; as its superior monastery is from the Plym river in Devon, called St. Mary de Plym, whereon it is fituate. From the north west part of this harbour of FALMOUTH, between the parishes of Budock, Gluvias, and Myler, another navigable channel extendeth itself up the country to the incorporate town of Penryn. And towards the north another channel thereof higher up extendeth itself through the country from the centre about a league, and is navigable to Peran Well and Carnan Bridge. Further up north east another channel or arm of Falmouth harbour extends itself to the incorporate and coinage town of Truro, and the manor of Moris, and is navigable there, about nine miles distant from the Black Rock or Island aforemention'd. Lastly, another branch of this harbour extends to Tresilian bridge, where it's navigable between the parishes of St. Herme, Probus, and Merther, about ten miles from the mouth of the haven and the aforefaid island. All which members or branches of this noble harbour are overlook'd by pleasant hills and vales of land, and within the memory of man abounding with flourishing woods and groves of timber; and before that time Leland the elder in his Itinerary tells us, that this river VALE was in his days encompassed about with the lostiest woods, oaks, and timber trees that this kingdom afforded, Temp. HENRY VII. and was therefore by the Britons called Caffi-tir, and Caffi-ter; that is to fay, Wood-Land; from which place and haven the Greeks, fetching tin, called it and the Island fo often here mention'd in their language Cassiteros. Thus in Bodman, Cassiter-street formerly a coinage town. But now this commodity of TIN hath made such havock of woods and timber trees, in fearching for and melting the same, that scarcely any of them are to be seen in those places. For the woods and trees being cut down and grubb'd up, the hills and vales have submitted to agriculture, and are become arable and pasture lands, abounding with corn, sheep, and cettle. From the premises, I suppose, 'tis evident, what Mr. Carew in his Survey saith, of this excellent harbour of Falmouth, that an hundred thips may lie at anchor within the same, and none of them fee the others main-tops; the reason of which is, because of the steep hills and long windings of the feveral channels or branches thereof." p. 123 to 125. And again: "Between the parishes of Budock and Gluvias, on a promontory of land shooting into the sea-creek of Falmouth harbour, between two valleys and hills, where the tide daily makes its flux and reflux, stands the ancient burrough of PEN-RIN, or PEN-RYN; i. e. the hill-head, promontory, or beak, of land; for as pen is a bead in Cornish, so rin, or ryn, is derived from, and synonymous with, the gaphetical Greek piv, [rin] nasus, a nose, nook, promontory, or beak of any matter: A name given and taken from the natural circumstances of the place, as aforesaid. And here are loft, lands, still called the Rins, above the town. By the name Pen-rin it was taxed, as the voke lands of a confiderable manor, in Dome's day roll, 20. WILLIAM I. 1087. This place I apprehend to be the Oxgivula [Otrinum] of Piclemy,

With respect to the former, Dr. Borlase has, in a great measure, objections to both. anticipated me; whilft he points out the abfurdity of the supposition, that the inhabitants of the Land's-end should convey their tin in carts near two hundred miles, when they had as good ports on their own shores as on the Isle of Wight. Not that Diodorus meant to confine this business to the Danmonii of the Land's-end. But the remoteness of the Isle of Wight, even from the people who lived on the banks of the Tamar, would be a fufficient objection to it. Dr. Borlase's remark, also, on the civilization of the Danmonii, from their intercourse with merchants, seems to have some weight. For, surely, if the Isle of Wight had been the common emporium, those merchants need not have mixed with the Danmonii. They would naturally have refided in the fea-ports of Hampshire, not of Devonshire or Cornwall. The last objection of the Doctor to the Isle of Wightits present distance from the main land—has no force. I am willing to allow, that the Isle of Wight was alternately an island and a peninsula, in the days of Diodorus. Since those days, our coasts have undergone various changes. But, to carry on their tin-trade in this manner, must have been extremely inconvenient to the Danmonii. And it is improbable, that they should lay themselves under obligations to the people of Hampshire, without a motive—that they should prefer a restricted and uncertain commerce in a distant territory, to an unembarrassed and unprecarious trade at home; though, at the same time, the ports of Devon and Cornwall were equal, if not superior, to those of Hamp-shire. But let us dismiss the Isle of Wight. One of the Scilly Isles, called Micis, has the next claim to our attention. Yet it deserves a momentary attention only. At this

the Greek geographer of the Danmonii, An. Dom. 140. (by Camden, through his ignorance of the British tongue, placed at St. Michael's Mount) it being only a corruption of Oc or Ok-rin-an; as much as to say the Oak-Nose-Hill, or Oak-Promontory-Hill; referring to the terminative particles of the compound words Bud-ock and Pen-rin. To prove this conjecture, I find, in the manuscripts of the British and Welch bards and the Traides, An. Dom. 600, this place is distinguished with two appellations, Pen-rin-Goad (i. e. the Promontory Head Wood) and Pen-rin Haus-ton (that is to say Penrin Summer-Town); it being even to this day suitably called in modern English the Summer Court Town. It being thus situate on the sea shore, it was heretofore walled and fortisted for its desence against enemies; near which two watch-towers are still in being. Moreover, to prove that this town was formerly situated in an oak wood, or at least some other wood, I call for evidence the Cornish manuscript of the Creation of the World, a play, brought into Oxford in 1450, and which is still extant in the Bodleian library there; which will at the same time serve to evince that the now Black Rock of Falmouth was in old time the Island (viz. the Ikta) of Diodorus Siculus, by which tin was transported into Gallia. A sew words therefore of it here sollow faithfully transcribed, with their translation; they being spoken as by Solomon, rewarding the builders of the universe:

Banneth an Tas wor why;
Why fyth wea grwyr Gobery.
Whyr Gober eredye
Warbarth gans of Gweel Bohellan,
Hag Goad Penrin entien,
An Ennis, hag Arwinick,
Tregimber, hag Kegillack.
Anthotho Gurry the why Chauter.
b. e.

Bleffing of the Father on You; You shall have your Reward. Your wages is prepared Together with all the Fields of Bobellan, And the Wood of Penrin entirely, The Island and Arwinick, Tregember and Kegyllack. Of them make you a Deed or Charter.

Lastly; though at present Penryn hath no timber wood pertaining thereto, yet within the memory of the last age much oak timber trees were extant about it, and lately some antient trees were growing in the streets thereof; all pointed at and preserved in the name of Bud-Ock, a cove, creek, or bay of eak. And that the now Black Rock of Falmouth is the Nñoos Inta, it Onta, of the Grecks, [i. e. Nesos Ik-ta ki Okta] i. e. the island Ike-ta and Ok-ta, signifying the cove, creek, or harbour good, and oak good, (now Falmouth) I make no question. Of which see more under Falmouth. Otherwise, I confess, Bud-ike may be interpreted the bay, creek, cove, or bosom of waters, leading to the sea." p. 145, 146.

advanced stage of the Danmonian tin-trade, to have recourse to the Scilly Isles would be ridiculous. Borlase allows that Devonshire had a principal share in the trade. And would he bring down our Dartmoor-tin to one of the Scilly Isles, to be imported thence to the Continent of Gaul? Besides, he rests his hypothesis upon an unwarrantable asfumption; not scrupling to assert, that "Diodorus confounds the tin-trade of the Land's-end with that of the Scilly Isles. As to the situation of the Scilly Isles, they lay, according to old writers, between Europe and Britain." This, it seems, was all the ancients knew. Here, then, it fuits our author's purpose, to expose the geographical inaccuracy of the ancients, and, particularly, their indistinct notion of the Scilly Isles. Let us proceed. The Ictis of Diodorus is discovered to be the Micris of Pliny: But, unfortunately, the Mictis of Pliny was fix days fail from Britain. Thus, at the moment of its appearance, it vanishes: And we have seen it, only to regret its loss! Vainly would the Doctor tell us, that "when the ancients reckoned this place fix days fail, they did not mean from the nearest part of Britain, but from that part of Britain nearest to Gaul, from which to the Scilly Islands the distance was, indeed, fix days usual fail in the early times of navigation." If this be admitted as a folution of the difficulty, it brings an argument in favor of the accuracy of the ancients. Thus, at one time, the geography of the ancients is dark as Erebus, at another, as clear as the fun. But when we fay, that an island lying off the coast of Britain, is six days sail from it, are we not understood to mean, the part of Britain nearest to the island? Any other interpretation seems forced. Grant, however, for the fake of argument, that Mictis was fix days fail from that "part of Britain nearest to and in fight of Gaul." Does this concession bring us nearer to the point in question? Hath Mictis any new pretentions to our notice, as the Ictis of Diodorus? By adopting Borlafe's opinion, we deftroy at once the authority of Diodorus—we dash to atoms the very passage which is the groundwork of all our theories. If Itis be Midis, it must either be the iste to which tin was conveyed from the surrounding islets of Scilly; or it must be the isle to which tin was conveyed from the Land's-end—in both cases previously to the exportation of this metal into Gaul .- In the first case (which Borlase supposes to be true) Diodorus talks absolute nonsense. And Borlase obliges him to inform us, in the self-same words, (a) "that the people of the Land's-end convey their tin in carts to an adjacent island, whence it is shipped off for Gaul-and that the people of Scilly convey their tin in carts from all their islets, to one common island, whence it is shipped off for Gaul." This is all in one breath! It is like the fatyr blowing hot and cold! Thus is our poor historian pressed into the service of conjecturists. Thus cruelly is he tortured, and forced to mutter falshood, as he writhes upon the wheel of the executioner. In the fecond case, Diodorus leads our merchants to their journey's end, by a route most unconscionably circuitous. When the Cornish would go eastward, the Greek, in mere wantonness, turns their faces to the west. Not to infift on the expedition of the Devonshire miners from the hills of Dartmoor to the Scilly-Isles, to have their goods shipped off for France, let us look only to the hard lot of the inhabitants of the Bolerium. With the view of conveying their tin to Gaul, Diodorus orders them to set off—for the Isles of Scilly. The Scilly Isles lie about nine leagues west of the Land's-end: And over nine leagues were the Danmonii doomed to drive their waggons. Having accomplished, however, this more than Herculean labor, they had, I suppose, to felicitate themselves on the progress of their tin towards the Gallic coast. But a truce to badinage. Borlase was clearly misled by sounds, when he substituted Missis for Ictis. In his Natural History of Cornwall, he fays: "Where this Ictis was, I really cannot inform the reader." Yet, in his ancient and present State of the Isles of Scilly, he "does not at all doubt but that by Ictis, Diodorus Siculus meant Mictis"—whence we might almost infer, that in the theory which I have been examining, he was occupied by the delirium of the moment. Next comes the Black-rock conjecture; which, though it was thrown out at random by Halfe, who understood neither Greek nor Latin, and hath been supported by Pryce, who was confessedly ignorant of Greek, and whose knowledge of the Latin was equivocal, is yet specious, and I will venture to say, ingenious. Such it appears, when we consider the periodical peninsularity of the Black-rock in former times, the name of Ickta corresponding with Ixlis, and the fituation of Falmouth harbour less objectionable than that of the Isle of Wight, or of the Scilly Isles. But several islands on our coasts were temporary peninsulas: So that the case of the Black-rock is not singu-

<sup>(</sup>a) "It is all the same in the Greek"-to literalize a vulgar proverb.

lar. As to the name of Ickta (or Ick) it is commonly applied to creeks in Cornwall(a): And, the fituation of the Black-rock (though comparatively good) was not the most eligible for the Danmonii east of the Tamar. In short, as it is the casual name of Ickta which wings us to the harbour of Falmouth, I can by no means alight on the Black-Rock as the vnow means alight on the Black-Rock as the now the means alight on the Black-Rock as the means alight on the Black-Rock as the casual name of Ickta which, that means have means alight on the Black-Rock as the now means alight on the Black-Rock as the same of Ickta which, the means alight on the Black-Rock as the now means alight on the Black-Rock as the means alight on the Black-Rock as the same alight on the Black-Rock as the vnow means alight on the Black-Rock as the same alight on the Black-Rock as the

certaine markes at land." (b)

From the correspondence of this description with that of Diodorus Siculus-from the appellation of Iclis—from the scite of St. Nicholas at the mouth of the Tamar—from its central position in regard to Devon and Cornwall—from the actual conventions of the Devonshire and Cornish miners, in its vicinity—from the ancient mines both to the east and west of it, particularly the tin-works of Dartmoor—from its situation in reference to Gaul—and from the Grecian factory at the Ramhead, near which it lies, as connected with the Greeks of Marfeilles, I confess, I have a strong suspicion that this little isle might have been the identical Ixlus. The correspondence of this description with that of Diodorus Siculus, must be evident at a glance. Diodorus describes a certain isle adjacent to the thores of Britain-vnoor moonequerny. Such is St. Nicholas. And this ifle (he intimates) is situate between Britain and the continent: So is St. Nicholas. The name of this isle, he says, is Itis. And Itis, we shall see (which is Cornubritish) was probably the first name of St. Nicholas. The space between Itis and the main-land (he adds) becomes an ifthmus at the reflux of the tide. Such, even now, may almost be faid of St. Nicholas; fince "from this island, a range of rocks reacheth over to the fouth-west shore, discovered at the low water of fpring-tides." It is remarkable, that this range of rocks is called the Bridge. Nor have I a doubt but that in the time of our historian, this bridge was passable: And great quantities of tin, from the west, were, probably, carried over it, in Cornish waggons. Diodorus, also, informs us, that the isles in general, between Britain and the continent, were, in this manner, alternately, islands and peninfulas—the truth of which is abundantly proved by the British history, and tradition, and the observations of the naturalist. "But the Ictis of Diodorus, may the objector say, must have been a larger isle than that of St. Nicholas." Doubtless it was a larger isle than St. Nicholas appears at present. Let us recollect, however, the vast changes that have taken place, on all the coasts of Britain and its neighbouring isles, since the time of Diodorus: Let us look only to the alterations in the Scilly Isles. That they have been greatly reduced from their original fize, is evident. And, very possibly, St. Nicholas has been reduced in the same proportion. All the fouth-west coasts and adjacent islands have suffered, more or less, by

(a) " Ick-a common termination of creeks in Cornwall; as Pordinick, Pradnick, Portyfsick." Borlafe's Vocabulary.

<sup>(</sup>b) Carew's Survey, p. 99. Risdon's description of this harbour and of the island, is as follows: "Between Tamer and Plym, is situate that town sometime called Sutton, of its southerly scite.—In the Saxons heptarchy, this harbour was called Tamerworth (as is to be read in the life of St. Indractus) if St. Nicholas Island be not meant thereby. For Wearth, in Saxon, is a river-island.—Just before the harbour's mouth, lieth St. Nicholas's island, for form lozengee, by estimation three acres of land, strengthened by art as well as nature, and is subject to the command of the captain of Plimouth fort." Leland says, that "Walterus de Valle torta gave to Plymtoun-Priorie the Isle of S. Nicolas cum cuniculis, conteyning a 2. acres of ground, or more, and lying at the mouthes of Tamar & Plym ryvers." Itinerary, vol. 2. p. 45.

the force of the elements, particularly by the depredations of the sea. Why, then, should we except St. Nicholas from the wreck? Those, however, who are acquainted with the present appearance of St. Nicholas, will make no such exception. From its shelving coasts towards the sea, there are rocks that run out to a great length. At low water, their surfaces are visible: And they are evidently very extensive. When we consider, then, the defalcation of the shore, from subsidences of earth and other causes, it seems reafonable to suppose, that these ledges of rock towards the sea, were once covered with firata of gravel and fand and earth, forming a part of the Isle of St. Nicholas; but that these different layers were removed in a course of time from their foundation of rock, fretted away by the gradual fluctuation of the sea, disturbed and tumbled into the deep from the mining of subterraneous waters; divulsed and dashed to atoms amidst earthquakes and the violence of the tempest. In short, failors have made precisely the same observations on the rocks contiguous to St. Nicholas, as on those between the Scilly Isles and the Cornish coast. Excepting towards Mount-Edgecumbe and the sea, no rocks are discoverable adjoining to this island. The other parts of its coasts are washed by deep water. Towards the sea, however, the water is extremely shallow, and large beds of rock are very apparent—whence I conclude, that a great part of the island hath disappeared: Nor is it unlikely, that in the age of our historian, St. Nicholas was even in point of fize, as eligible an emporium as the Isle of Wight. (a)—With respect to the name of Islis, Ick is undoubtedly a Cornish word, signifying a creek. It is preserved in the names of various places in the neighbourhood of the Tamar, and the Plym: And all the land near the mouths of these rivers is full of creeks. In his description of the course of the Tamar, Borlase tells us, (b) "that the Tamar receiving the Tavy on the east, and having made a creek into the parishes of Botsslemming and Landulph on the west, becomes a spacious harbour; and washing the foot of the ancient borough of Saltash within half a mile, is joined by the Lynher creek and river; then passing straight forward forms the noble harbour of Hamoze, (c) called formerly Tamerworth (d); where making two large creeks, one called St. John's, the other Millbrook, at the west, and Stonehouse creek at the east (after a course of about forty miles, nearly south) the Tamar passes into the sea, having Mount Edgcumbe for its western, and the lands of Stonehouse and St. Nicholas Island, in Plymouth Sound, for the eastern boundary." The moor of Diodorus, then, had received a Cornish name, in the days of the historian. On the coasts of Hampshire, we are acquainted with no such term as Ick or Ickta, or Ixlis, as fynonymous with creek. And the Cornish would naturally give this name to an island on their own shores, not to the Isle of Wight. Isles was a Cornish island, on the Cornish coast, known by a Cornish name, and so denominated by the people of Cornwall. In the mean time, the name of Ictis may, with as much reason, be appropriated to the Me of St. Nicholas as to the Black-Rock: Yet it was chiefly the name, which led Halfe and Pryce to exalt their Black-Rock into the vnoor of the Greek historian. The present appellation of our Island, is evidently modern. In the Saxon Period, its name is supposed to have been Tamerworth, an island at the mouth of the Tamar. But Tales is a term more peculiarly descriptive of it—the island of creeks, or the creek-island .-From its fituation at the mouth of such a fine navigable river as the Tamar, St. Nicholas was well calculated for the purposes of merchandize. And the Tamar was, undoubtedly, navigated by the Phenicians and Greeks. As it was entered, in a subsequent period, by the Danes, whence they committed their depredations both on the Devon-shire and Cornish sides of it, so was it frequented by the earliest inhabitants of Danmonium, who, with their freights of tin, sailed down to the Isle of St. Nicholas .- The central situation of St. Nicholas, with regard both to Devonshire and Cornwall, will afford us, also, just grounds for supposing it to have been the general depository of the tin raised both to the east and west. The Phenician navigators are thought to have come up the

(a) Let me repeat, that I do not here acquiesce in probabilities. Mr. Scawer tells us, in his MS. that "THERE WAS A VALLEY BETWEEN RAMHEAD AND LOOE." And in a clear day, he says, "there is to be seen at the bottom of the sea, a league from the shore, a wood of timber."

fays, "there is to be feen at the bottom of the fea, a league from the shore, a wood of timber."

(b) Nat. Hist. p. 37, 38. — "Scant a mile lower lyth Liner Creke, goyng up onto S. Germane's. Then brekith a litle Creke, out caullid John's or Antony. And at the mouth about S. Nicolas brekith in a Creek goying up to Milbrok z. miles up in land from the mayn haven." Leland's Itin. vol. 2, p. 41. (c) Saxon name Ham-oze; that is, the wet over habitation, circuit; or inclosure.

(d) Camden, page 26.

Tamar, very foon after their acquaintance with Danmonium. (a) They must have dif-covered, therefore, the Isle of St. Nicholas, before they had established any factories in this county. But, in the present advanced state of the British commerce, St. Nicholas was furely familiar to the different fettlers, who availed themselves, I doubt not, of its advantageous fituation. Whilft the colonists of the north of Devon conveyed their tin to the banks of the Tamar, whence it might have been shipped off and brought down the river to this island, and whilst the inhabitants of Dartmoor and all the country bordering upon the Tamar, freighted their veffels in the fame manner, and unloaded them, alfo, at St. Nicholas; the Cornish even from the Land's-end (as Diodorus intimates) were driving their waggons towards the fame common depository to which they might eafily pass at low water.—That our idea of the convenience of such a central spot to the tin-traders of Devon and Cornwall, is perfectly just, seems evinced in the strongest manner, by the actual meetings of the Devonshire and Cornish miners on (b) Hengston-down, at no great distance from our island, for the purpose of renewing the remembrance of their unwritten laws (their traditional observances of high antiquity) and of settling various points in which both parties were interested, either as tin-manufacturers or merchants. Periodical affociations of this kind were natural. And such periodical affociations took place in the vicinity of St. Nicholas from time immemorial, many ages before the existence of any written stannary laws, and probably in the British Period. If, then, the Devonshire and Cornish miners were in the habit of consulting their mutual convenience, by fuch meetings at a central spot, is it not fair to conclude, that they had a regard, also, to the common advantage, in the actual exportation of their tin, and that they conveyed this metal to some port of traffick, equally commodious to both parties? This port was fome island on their coasts: And where can an island be found more accessible to both parties, than that of St. Nicholas? If St. Nicholas were in those days sufficiently large for such a general port of trassick (and I doubt not but it was) its situation more eligible than that of any other island on the fouth-west shores, would instantly determine its pretenfions to the rank I have given it in the commercial world.—Let us add to this, the westiges of ancient tin-works in its vicinity. We are informed, from records, that " all the old mines on Dartmoor, are on its western side towards the Tamar." This is a curious circumstance. And there is no doubt but the traces of old tin-works are chiefly on the west fide of the forest. Here are strong marks both of shode and stream works. The boldest vestiges, also, of our ancient Cornish mines, are very near the Tamar. (c) It is natural, therefore, to conjecture, that the greater abundance of tin on the banks of the Tamar, would give a proportionate confequence to the adventurers of the neighbourhood; and that the weight of interest thus irresistibly acquired, would render their own district the principal feat of commerce. Others, indeed, reasoning differently, may imagine, that the frequentation of the Tamar by our tin-merchants, or the establishment of an emporium on the Isle of St. Nicholas, was itself the occasion of multiplying the tin-works in the neighbouring country; fince the expences of carriage or conveyance must have decreased in proportion to the nearness of the commodity to the place of exportation; not to mention other advantages which would accrue from raifing and preparing the tin, amidst the confluence of merchants and the fervor of commerce.—In the mean time, the fituation of St. Nicholas in respect to Gaul, is surely preserable either to that of the Scilly Isles or of the Black-rock. To the Isle of Wight I shall not recur; as the trade in question was not with Hampshire but with Devonshire and Cornwall. But on this point, as singly

(a) Mr. Pinkerton is certainly correct in his idea, that the Cassiterides did not mean, exclusively, the Scilly Isles, but, also, Great Britain and Ireland.

(b) "From Plymouth Haven, passing farther into the countrie, Hengsten downe presenteth his waste head and sides to our sight. This name it borroweth of Hengst, which in the Saxon signifieth a borfe, & to fuch least daintie beasts it yeelderh fittest pasture. The countrie people have a by word Hengsten-downe, well ywrought,

Is worth London towne, deare ybought.

Which grewe from the store of tynne, in former times, there digged up: But that gainfull plentie

is now fallen to a fcant—faving fcarcitie." Carew's Survey, p. 115.
(c) "By the ryver of Tamar from the hedde north north est yssuyng owt towarde the fowthe, the contery being hilly, ys fertile of corne & greffe with fum tynne warkes wrougth by violens of water. Hengiston beyng a hy hylle, and nere Tamar, yn the east part, baryn of his felf, yet is fertile by yelding of tynne both be water & dry warkes." Leland's Itin. vol. 4, p. 113. (Oxford edit. 1769.)

taken, I lay no stress; though it may be adduced, with others, in favor of my hypothesis.—My last argument was drawn from the Greek factory at the Rambead (near which St. Nicholas lies) as connected with the Greeks of Marseilles. The Greeks of the Rambead had called this promontory ugis melwnor; they had given the name of Tamagos (a) to the river, at the mouth of which our island is situated; and to the island itself they had probably affixed the appellation of Ixlis. And nothing is more likely, than that this Grecian factory supported a regular correspondence with their brethren at Marseilles. As the communication, therefore, of the Danmonii with foreign merchants through the port of Ictis, was indifputably with the Greeks of Marseilles (for this is an historical fact, not an hypothetical position) I conceive it probable, that the port of Ictis was at the Isle of St. Nicholas adjoining to our Grecian factory of the Ramhead. Diodorus notices our tin-trade with Marseilles from the port of Ictis, at this very conjuncture: And, at this very conjuncture, a Grecian factory corresponding with the Greeks of Marseilles, were established at the new melwarer; close to which lay the Isle of St. Nicholas.—On the whole, I think, these concurring circumstances give a plausible air, at least, to my hypothesis: And I have stated my ideas merely as theoretical. At all events, I conceive, my readers will agree with me in opinion, that St. Nicholas hath as fair a claim to the commercial preheminence of Ixles, as either the Isle of Wight, or one of the Scilly Isles, or the Black-rock of Falmouth.

At this advanced stage of the British commerce, there were, doubtless, other marts of trade on the south-coast of Danmonium. Such was the case, also, on the north shore; whilst commercial settlements were formed on the Jugum Ocrinum, communicating with the country on either side of it. Among other ports was the Osium Isca sluvii, immediately connected with the capital: and at Helenis Promontorium, Ocrinum Promontorium, and Promontorium Antivessaum, inferior sactories, possibly, were established. (b) And, in the north of Devon, the Phenicians, we doubt not, were carrying on a trade of some consequence at Hertland-Point; whilst Okehampton, on the Ocrinum Jugum, was the prin-

cipal link in the great commercial chain.

Who these foreign merchants were, that purchased the tin from the Danmonians in this island, and transported it to the coast of Gaul, and thence overland to Marseilles, the historian hath not informed us. Probably, the Greeks of Marseilles, at first, sent agents of their own to Ictis, to negociate this business, but afterwards received the British tin, and other commodities, from the hands of the Gauls; fince the conduct of fuch a trade over the continent of Gaul, required the affiftance of its inhabitants. The Greeks of Marseilles, after they had begun to trade in this manner, could not expect to confine the British commerce to themselves. They had seen rivals in the Gauls, particularly the merchants of Narbonne, a rich and flourishing city, on the coast of the Mediterranean, not far from the mouth of the Rhone. After the division of the British trade between Marfeilles and Narbonne, the merchants of Gaul opened feveral new routs for conveying their goods from Britain over the continent of Gaul, to these two great cities. They brought their goods from Britain up the river Seine, as far as it was navigable, and thence conveyed them, on horses, overland, to the Rhone, on which they again embarked them; and, falling down that river to the Mediterranean, landed them either at Marseilles or Narbonne. On their return, they brought goods for the Danmonian market from these cities up the Rhone, as far as it was navigable, thence overland to the Seine, and down the river, and across the channel to Ictis, and other parts of Britain. But, because so long a navigation up so rapid a river as the Rhone, was attended with great difficulties, they fometimes landed their goods at Vienne or Lyons, carried them overland to the Loire,

(a) Tanapos from molanos.

<sup>(</sup>b) Dr. Stukeley seems to infinuate, that there was a Greek settlement or factory at Seaton. "Just by the present haven wall, at Seaton (says Stukeley) is a long pier or wall jutting out into the seamade of great rocks piled together, to the breadth of six yards. They told me, it was built many years ago by one Courd, once a poor sailor; who being somewhere in the Mediterranean, was told by a certain Greek, that much tre sure was hid upon Hogsdon-hill near here, and that this memorial was transmitted to him by his ancestors. Courd, upon his return, digging there, found the golden mine—and at his own expence built this wall, with an intention to restore the harbour. The people hereabouts firmly believe the story; and many have dug in the place with like hopes." This tradition reminds me of the old Greek pilot, who referred Mr. Anson to the days of his ancestors—pointing with conscious pride to the isle of Tenedos, and exclaiming—"there our sleets lay"—during the siege of Troy.

Loire, and down that river to Vennes, and other cities on the coast of Britanny, and thence embarked them for Britain. The trade, by this second route, was carried on by the Veneti, the best navigators of the ancient Gauls. A third route was from Britain to the mouth of the Garonne, up that river as far as it was navigable, and thence overland to Narbonne. The trade of Britain, however, was not long confined to Danmonium, after it came into the hands of the Gaulish merchants. It gradually extended to all the coasts opposite to Gaul: And the Belgæ and other nations, who posses these coasts, kept up a constant intercourse with the continent whence they came. (a)

Tr

(a) The following is an extract from Chapple's long digreffion on the British commerce—a digreffion from which he frequently digresses; "fuch vagatory deviations" ferving, in his opinion, to relieve the tediousness of "invariably plodding in the same dull track!!!" "It may be proper to remark that although, in the course of our enquiries on this thoject, we have supposed with Dr. Borlase, that the Phanicians took those parts of Devon and Cornwall which produced tin to be islands, and included them as such, with those now denominated the Scilly Islands; yet this was only meant of the notions they might have of them at the time when they first discovered them; when they could know no more of Britain or its isles than the situation of those parts of the coasts on which they landed, or had observ'd from their ships; and could no more guess at their extent or connection, than the modern Europeans could, 'till very lately, whether New Holland or New Zealand were islands or continent. But we cannot suppose, that such expert navigators, as the Phænicians undoubtedly were, could long remain ignorant that the eaftern parts of the tin-countries, with which they must foon have establish'd a constant trade for that metal, were connected with, and parts of, a much larger tract of land than any of those little islands with which they had at first confounded them. And yet the Greeks, who were by them supplied with it, but were wholly unacquainted with the fituation or extent of the countries whence they had it, might still continue the name they had originally adopted to diffinguish them, and which became the common appellation of all places productive of tin; which metal was by the ancients taken to be a species of lead, and frequently so call'd. Thus Mela, speaking of the isles of the northern ocean, mentions some Celtic ones which, because abounding in lead, were all call'd by one common name, Cassiterides(1): And Pliny says, (2) the Cassiterides were so call'd by the Greeks from being fruitful in lead; meaning that white fort of lead (as they supposed it to be, tho' in reality a different metal) which Casar in his commentaries (speaking of the tin of the midland or interior parts of Britain) called plumbum album. That the Phanicians themselves did not immediately know or distinguish the tin-country of the Danmonii from the Scilly Isles, as they were afterwards call'd, cannot be wonder'd at; tho' for the reason above fuggested, we can't doubt of their being soon apprized of their being distinct and separate from them, and that they could furnish them with tin in much greater abundance than those detach'd little islands could produce. Other nations however, for above 500 years after this, knew very little of the British Isles, or whether Britain itself were really such or not: And the Julius Caefar, at his invasion of Britain, appears to have been well informed of the extent of its fourbern coasts (for the account he gives of it differs but a very few miles from the truth, according to our modern maps, however incorrect in his other dimensions deduced from the random guesses of the inhabitants), and had been apprized of its having tin in its interior parts as above mention'd; yet he takes no particular notice of those islands which had long supplied the world therewith .-- And tho' Strabe, who wrote 70 years after Cæsar's invasion, in his account of the bearing and situation of the Cassiterides from Gades, plainly directs us, towards the Land's End in Cornwall, and the islands situate near it; and the number of the principal ones (of which, he tells us, all but one were inhabited) were not unknown to him (3); yet he appears ignorant of their real distance; of which he, in his third book,

(1) In Celticis aliquot funt, quas, quia plumbo abundant, uno omnes Caffiterida: appellant. Pomp. Mel. lib. 3. cap. 11. (2) Caffiterides dicta a Gracis a fertilitate plumbi. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 22. 4 flanni feil. quod plumbi species habebatur." Hill. Comment. Dionys. p. 222. ed. 1679.

(3) He reckons ten of them lying close together: Ai δε Κατ ιτερίδες δέκα μεν είσι, κεινται δ' εγγύς αλληλων, ωρός άρκτον ἀπό τε των Αρτάβρων λιμένω πελαγίαι. μία δ' αὐτων ερημός εξί, τας δ' αλλας οικεσιν ανθρωποι θεωωοι, &c. Strab. lib. 3. prope finem.—Caffiterides infulæ decem funt numero, vicinæ invicem, ab Artabrotum portu versus septentrionem in alto site mari. Una earum deserta est, reliquæ ab hominibus incoluntur, &c. Interp. Kylandr. And Camden, who doubts not but that these Cassiterides were those now call'd the Scilly Islands, observes, that there are really but ten of them of any note, viz. St. Mary's, Anneth, Agres, Sampson, Silly, Brefer, Rusco or Treseaw, St. Helen's, St. Martin's, and Arthur. Indeed he reckons 145 islands that go by the name of Scilly Islands, 'all clothed with grass, and covered with greenish moss; besides many hideous rocks and great stones above water." But, as he had before intimated, this number (tho' it exceeds that of ten, as reckon'd by Eustathius and Strabo, by above ten times as many) affords no good argument against their being the same with the Cassiterides of the ancients; since the same would hold equally good against the numbers of the Hæbudes and Orcades as reckon'd by Ptolemy. 'The truth on't is (says he), the ancient writers knew nothing certain of these remote parts and islands; no more than we of the Islands in the Streights of Magellan, and VOL. I.

In what manner the commodities I have noticed, were conveyed from one district, or from one country to another, we may have casually observed: But it is a point, worthy a distinct

only fays, they were to the northward of Gades, but out in the high feas, and here feems to have suppos'd them somewhere off that coast of Old Spain which was then posses'd by the Artabri and Celtici Nerii in the northern part of the ancient Lusitania, near the promontory of Nerium, now call'd Cape-Finistere: But elsewhere (lib. 2.) he had directed us to a much more northerly situation of them. (1) Mela alfo, - who wrote about 20 years after Strabo, when the Emperor Claudius had just made his expedition into Britain, and was about to triumph for his success there,—declines giving any description of a country so little known to the Romans as Britain then was; but only expresses his expectation of its being soon more certainly known, since the Emperor had, by his conquest of people before untamed, and of some 'till then unknown, open'd a way to further discoveries of what it was, and what it might produce.(2)—Yet it was not 'till 40 years after this, when Agricola's fleet fail'd round it, that the Romans certainly knew it to be an island. After the coalition of the Phænicians of Gades with their brethren the Carthaginians, that powerful nation in conjunction with them, must have continued to carry on the tin-trade with the Danmonii; still carefully concealing it from all competitors. These they had taken every precaution to exclude; and having long preferv'd to themselves the uninterrupted and unrivall'd enjoyment of this beneficial branch of their commerce under the protection of the Tyrians, would be (as we are affured they were) equally attentive to it in concert with their new colleagues and no less powerful protectors; who could not but esteem the continuance of this monopoly a most important object of their national concern. And fo follicitous were they to fecure it, that when the Romans, after they became acquainted with navigation (of which they were wholly ignorant 'till engaged in the first Punic war, about 260 years before Christ), (3) sent out their doggers to watch and follow a Phanician ship, with a view to a discovery of the place where they traded for this valuable commodity; the Phoenician mariner perceiving their design, which it behoved him by all means to disappoint, would voluntarily run his ship on some shoal, to decoy the Romans into the like perilous situation; which from their as yet imperfect skill in navigation might prove fatal to them, but from which he himself well knew how to disengage himself and his ship, with some present loss indeed, but little or no danger. For that he did not fink his ship, and himself and crew in it, (4) as some have groundlessly supposed, is sufficiently evi-

the whole tract of New Guiney.' See Gibf. Camd. 1112. ed. 1695. where he gives other reasons for supposing the Scilly islands to be the Cassicrides; but none inconsistent with our supposition, that the stannary tracts of Cornwall and Devon were

included with them under the fame denomination. Chapple.

(1) Strabo, in his 2d book here referr'd to, after describing the course of the navigation along the western coast of Spain to that of the Artabri, and then turning with an obtuse angle eastward, 'till off the Pyrenees; adds as follows:

Τούτοις δὲ τὰ ἐσωὲςια τῆς Βςετανικῆς ἀντικεινται ωρὸς ἄρκτον. ὁμοίως δὲ κὰι τοῖς Ας αβροις ανδικεινται ωρὸς ἄρκιον, ἀι Κατδιτεςίδες καλὲμεναι νῆσοι, ωελάγιαι καθὰ τὸ Βςεθανικόν ωως κλίμα ἰδςυμέναι. His occiduæ Britanniæ partes oppositæ sur versus septentrionem. Itemque Artabris versus septentrionem opponuntur insulæ Cattiterides, [.quasi si stannais dicas,] in pelago, & Britannico propemodum sitæ climate. (Interp. Kylandr) i. e. Opposite to these towards the north, are the western parts of Britain. Also over against the Artabri to the north lie those islands which they call Cassiterides (Attice Cattiterides), situate out in the main sea very nearly in the same climate with Britain.—This evidently points out to us the Scilly Islands, as no other will so well answer this description: And tho Strabo might not suppose them so near that western part of Britain which he mentions, nor their being so exactly in the same climate and latitude, as they really are; this is less to be wonder'd at, than that, from the intelligence he could then have concerning those British Isles, he should be enabled to give so true an account of them. Chapple.

(2) Brittannia qualis sit, qualesque progeneret, mox certiora & magis explorata dicentur. Quippe tamdiu clausam aperit ecce principum maximus; nec indomitarum modo ante se, verum ignotarum quoque gentium victor, propriarum rerum sidem

ut bello affectavit, ita triumpho declaraturus portat." Pomp. Mel. lib. 3. cap. 8.

(3) Ech. Rom. Hift. b. 2. ch, 9. (4) If it could be so understood, it had been a more extraordinary instance of patriotic madness than that of Curtius himfelf; who for the supposed good of his country leaps alone into the pit of destruction, without involving his slaves or dependents in the same perdition. This might be deemed heroic in a Roman knight, who might promise himself immortal same as the fancied reward of fo much merit; but it would have been condemnable as the height of folly and most ridiculous knight-errantry in a Phoenician ship-master, to devote himself and his crew to the devouring waves to prevent the discovery of a state secret; when, as none could escape to testify his patriotism, it would for ever remain doubtful whether his fate were owing to accident or defign, and confequently could not infure him even the empty applaufe of his countrymen as a tribute to his manes.—Could a Dutch trader to Amboyna be prevail'd on by the warmth of his patriotism to hazard, his own life at leaft, by a voluntary shipwreck, to secure the monopoly of the spice-trade? If not, we have as little reason to suppose the monopolizers of tin would take any such desperate methods to guard against and preclude interlopers from having any share in it. For the dispositions of the modern Dutch and the ancient Phœnicians seem extremely similar, in respect to trade and commerce and the means of securing it; and tho' neither might much scruple, on urgent occasions, to offer human facrifices to Plutus, yet to make themselves the victims, merely to promote the advantage of others, and in total exclusion of their own, would be quite out of character. Avarice and selfishness are inconsistent with public spirit; and tho they may accidentally contribute to promote the public welfare, this feldom or never happens but when they are stimulated to it by interested views. We have heard indeed of a mifer who died to fave charges; but this was to preserve his own heard undiminish'd, not to increase the riches of the community. Chapple.

a distinct examination. We have already seen, that the ancient Britons were not unacquainted with the most perfect method of land-carriage yet discovered, long before they were

dent; fince Strabo, from whom we have this account, immediately adds, that " preferving himfelf from shipwreck, he was afterwards compensated out of the public treasury for the loss of his Hence we learn that the custom of the Phænicians in such cases was, to run their ship aground in some shallow place, with which and its soundings they were previously acquainted, and could guard against its danger; and from which, after having drawn their competitors into the snare, such expert navigators knew how to get free, by throwing overboard a sufficient quantity of the lading to lighten the ship; and getting her associated to return with safety home; where they were sure to receive an adequate compensation, for the loss they had sustain'd by sacrificing the profits of such an interrupted voyage to the fecurity of the trade. But notwithstanding these precautions, the same author affures us, the Romans, by frequent attempts of the like kind, at length discovered the situation of the Caffiterides; and having found their way to them, Publius Craffus afterwards came with the discoverers, and made observations on the tin mines here (then of no great depth) and the disposition of the people to peace; their attention to navigation as their leifure permitted, and their readiness to give directions to all who were inclinable to make this voyage(2). Who this P. Crassius was, whether fome mariner of Gallia Narbonensis, or of what other parts of the Empire, and at what time he made this expedition hither in quest of our tin, we are not inform'd. All we can with certainty affirm is, that it must have been after the first Punic war; 'till which time the Romans traded in foreign bottoms, having no ships of their own, and being 'till then (as has been already observ'd) wholly unskill'd in navigation: And if Crassius was of Gaul, as it seems most probable he was, this discovery and examination of our mines by him and his co-adventurers, can't be suppos'd to have been till after the third Punic war and the destruction of Old Carthage (in anno ante Chr. 144); perhaps not 'till the conclusion of the Allobrogic war near 30 years after, viz. in the year before Christ 116, when Narbonne Gaul was reduced to a Roman province (3). And even this, was rather before than after any Greeks had failed to Britain, if Bochart mistakes not, in supposing their first voyage to this island to have been in the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus King of Ægypt; who begun his reign (of 36 years) but the year after the commencement of the last-mentioned war, viz. an. ante Chr. 117, (4) in which, or the following year, the Allobroges (5) (who had invaded their Massilian neighbours then in alliance with the Romans) were totally subdued by Fabius Maximus. Camden however, (6) supposes the Greeks had visited Britain near 100 years before this, viz. in the 160th year before Casar's invasion, that is, in the year before Christ 215; and others have brought them hither still earlier. But perhaps the time referr'd to by Bochart was when they made the first trading voyage to this island for tin: And this, indeed, we can hardly suppose to have been much earlier. For, had any Greeks been acquainted with our Cassiterides, and commenced any trade to them, at any time during the preceding century, it could not have been long concealed from the Romans, when they had once perfected themselves in navigation; to which they diligently applied themselves after the first Punic war, and quickly improved on what they had learnt of naval architecture from the construction of some lost Phanician vessels accidentally driven ashore: After which, to what purpose would be the above mention'd precautions of the Phanicians, to conceal from the Romans what (on the above supposition) was no longer a fecret to the Greeks, nor could long be fo to any maritime people. That the Greeks really traded with the Britons some time before Julius Cafar, no-one doubts: But bow long before his invation, and at what time their knowledge of, and trade to this island commenced, and for what commodities they first traded here, whether for tin or what else,—the disagreement of authors concerning them has left very uncertain; and among a variety of opinions on these subjects, we can only judge, from felecting and comparing fuch authentic testimonies as feem corroborated by collateral circumstances, which to prefer.—Dr. Borlase (7), from Herodotus and Aristotle, supposes that the first passage the Greeks made into the Western or Atlantic ocean, was 550 years before Christ, when 'the people of Samos fending a colony into Egypt, were driven by the winds down the Mediterranean, and quite through the Straits of Gibraltar; about which Straits, he thinks, 'they fluck and fettled for some ages, without making further progress': And that they ventur'd not into the northern seas, 'till Pytheas, an astronomer of Marseilles about the time of Alexander the Great, undertiking a northern voyage, is faid to have fail'd as far as the Arctic circle, where there is no night at the fummer folftice: A circumstance which, to the unastronomic Greeks, must have seem'd not less wonderful (tho' indeed more true) than many other ftrange things he pretended to have feen in those

(2) Strabo ubi supra. (3) Ech. Rom. Hist. b. 2. c. 13. (4) Prid. Connect. Part 2. b. 5.
(5) The Allobroges were a people who dwelt at the foot of the Alps, to the southward of the lake of Geneva, in and about the countries now call'd Dauphine, Savoy, and Picdmont. Chapple.

<sup>(1)</sup> Strabo's words are, — ἀυτὸς, εσώθη δία ναυαγίε, κὰι ἀπελαβε δημοσίαν την τιμήν ων ἀπελαβε φοςτίων. which Kylander thus renders:——Ipfe e naufragio fervatus ex ærario publico pretium amissarum mercium recepit. Iib 3. prope finem.

<sup>(6)</sup> On the name of Britain, p. xxxi. Gibf. edit. 1695. (7) Antiq. of Cornw. p. 32 and 33.

were invaded by the Romans; fince the Danmonians, after they had refined their tin, and cast it into square blocks, carried it to Ictis in carts or waggons.

As

parts in his history of Thule; for I take him to be the same Pytheas, whom Strabe, more than once stigmatizes as a propagator of known falshoods. (1) Incited by his success, and conducted by his observations, the Doctor tells us, the Greeks were afterwards bold enough to attempt frequent voyages of this kind: On which he remarks, 'It is very strange therefore, if true, that the Greeks, who made a voyage thro' the Straits as anciently as Alexander's time, should not fail to Britain before the times above-mention'd to be fix'd for it by Bochart; in which 'if he is right' it 'will shew how secret the Phanicians kept this trade'—meaning, I presume, the tin-trade: For the Doctor seems to take for granted, that the Greeks could have made no voyage to Britain, nor had any intercourse with its inhabitants, for any other purpose. But surely they might very early have had some knowledge of the situation of this detach'd part of Europe, from Pytheas's accounts of it or otherwise, and might discover, and even trade to, some of the British ports (perhaps for skins, which was one article of the Phoenician traffick here), without knowing where the Caffiterides were fituated, or at what distance from Britain, or even suspecting them to be parts of, or appendages to it: These particulars being so carefully conceal'd by the Phænicians, that the stannary regions to which they traded, were antiently supposed, by all others, to be in some unknown and very distant part of that wide ocean which bounded the western extremities of Europe (2) Wherefore, although we should admit the northern vovage of Pytheas to be in Alexander's time, and that some Greeks of Massilia (now Marfeilles), for fuch it feems they were, encouraged by his example might foon after make the like attempts, and find their way to some port or ports on the British coasts; yet we cannot from thence conclude, that they so early discover'd from whence the Phanicians had their tin. Mr. Carte, indeed, (3) takes for granted, that their hopes of a share with the Phanicians in this trade, was the motive that induced them to fend their citizen, Pytheas, to explore these northern coasts: as if any Greeks (whether Phocian colonists at Massilia, or any other Grecian traders) had at that time certainly known that their tin came from Britain: Which, tho' he supposes this voyage to the north, and the discovery of Thule, to have been not above 250 years before Chrift, above 70 years after the death of Alexander, there feems no good reason to believe they were affured of, or in what parts the tinmines were, 'till about the time the Romans discover'd the navigation to them; which was probably above 100 years after the time he fixes for this Massilian enterprize. For would the Phænicians have mady exposed them elves ' to the extremest dangers, and all the horrors of shipwreck,' as Mr. Carte acknowledges they did, to fecrete from the Romans what they could not but know the Greeks had, on bis supposition, discover'd before? Besides, it is improbable that the Massilians, who constantly c Itivated a firm friendship and alliance with the Romans, (4) had they discovered the situation of these mines from whence the Carthaginians derived so valuable a branch of their commerce, would

<sup>(1)</sup> Strabo (lib. 2.) informs us, that this Pytheas, the' he had traverfed but a part of Britain, pretended accurately to compare its dimensions and extent with those of Thule; -represented these northern parts as having neither land, nor sea, mos air; but fome fpongy matter like pulmo marinus, in which the earth and fea, and all hang sufpended: That this matter is as it were the bond of the universe; inaccessible to travellers or failors; -with other particulars equally strange and ineredible. But perhaps much of the feeming abfurdity of these wonderful tales, may be charged on the then ignorance or misapprehension of his readers; who would be not a little startled at his representing the night as being, in the most northerly climate he visited, turn'd into day by an unsetting sun: The snow-topt mountains hiding their heads in the clouds; from whence the defluxions down their fides, alternately flowing, and again congeal'd into the like glassy substance of which the ancients imagin'd the heavens themselves were composed; and which, with the multangular rocks and islands of ice furmounting the swelling waves of the surrounding seas, variously reflecting and refracting the solar rays, would from some distant points of view, exhibit the appearance of gilded clouds here and there interspers'd with the corulean brightness of the farmament itfelf; And this feeming conjunction of heaven and earth and fea, with the intermediate air frequently fill'd with floating feathers of falling fnows, if fomewhat poetically deferibed, or in that ænigmatical flyle, by which the ancient Greeks were fond of diffuifing the most important truths in the garb of fiction and somance,-would induce the generality of his readers, who knew nothing of the effects of a northern perennial winter, to imagine he had confounded heaven and earth, air and water, and in short turn'd the world topfy-turvy: And then, no wonder if some men of good sense and sound judgment, but unskill'd in cosmography, should censure his accounts of these inhospitable regions, as replete with incredible stories and palpable salfhoods. For the best writers, in those early times, knew so little of natural philosophy, geography, or altronomy, as to have but very imperfect notions of the apparent course of the sun, as seen from different parts of the globe; or how and from what causes the different degrees of his heat, or the contrary effects of cold, in different climates, were variously modified. Hence Herodotus feems to have understood literally, and of course disbeliev'd, what some had affirm'd of a people cover'd with feathers that every where furrounded them, and fill'd the air about them. And the same Herodotus ridicules the report of the Phoenician navigators (which however was certainly true), that when (about ann. ante Chr. 603) they first doubled the most southerly Cape of Africa (viz. of Good Hope), they had fun-rising at their right-hand when facing the fun's place at noon; which being contrary to conflant observation in northern latitudes, those failors, who had never before been fouth of the æquator, could not but imagine that he rose in the west and sat in the east. Nay Strabo himfelf, whose judgment and skill in geography is in general unquestionable, and who must be allow'd to have excell'd all that preceded him in that branch of science, absolutely denies the truth of their testimony concerning so strange a phoenomenon, as he mistakenly took it to be: And to the like hasty and erroneous judgment in such matters, his censures of tytheas may very probably be, at least partly, ascribed. Chapple.

(2) Herodotus in Thelia.

(3) Hist. of England, vol. 1, p. 38.

(4) Vide Polyb. lib. 3, and Strabo, lib. 4.

As to their ships, the Britons are commonly represented as using vessels or boats, made of the flexible branches of trees, interwoven as closely as possible, and lined with hides. And, according to Pliny, Timæus described those boats of the Britons (in a history which is now lost) as a kind of wattle-work, covered with skins: Nor are those boats unnoticed by Cæsar, and other ancient writers. That the Danmonians were in possession of vessels of this description, I entertain not a doubt. The construction of these boats was oriental. And "a kind of boats, formed of slender rods joined together in the manner of hurdles and covered with skins," are still used on the Red sea. (a) That the Danmonians, however, were unacquainted with the use of larger vessels, before Cæsar, is a position to which I can never assent. Their voyage from the east to this country, could scarcely have been performed in vessels of so slight a construction as those already described. (b)

or could have conceal'd it from those whom they justly esteem'd their best friends and most powerful protectors; and to whom they on all occasions readily gave all the affistance in their power in their wars with the Carthaginians and others.-Now the Romans, as we have feen, had never plough'd the ocean till after the first Punic war; and consequently could not excite the jealousy of the Phanician tin-merchants by attempting a discovery of this kind, or induce them to hazard the safety of their ships and the lives of their sailors; the more effectually to guard against it, 'till an. ante Chr. 240 at soonest: When, being more sollicitous to cope with the Carthaginian power at sea by a numerous fleet, than attentive to the construction of trading vessels, it is not at all likely they would attempt any-thing of this nature, till the conclusion of the second Punic war had put them in possessions of Spain and the islands in the Mediterranean. And even then, the revolt of the Gauls, and the continuance of the first Macedonian war 'till an. ante Chr. 194; with the very short interval between that and the fecond; and the like between this and the third Punic war; and those intervals moreover employ'd in other wars of less note, viz. with the Ligurians, Spaniards, Corsicans, and others; must have too much engross'd the attention of the senate and the consuls, to admit of their advertence to commercial concerns. During these transactions, the Roman state, now growing up to the height of its glory and greatness, chiefly follicitous to have brave and well-regulated armies, and paying little or no regard to mercantile concerns, very little encouragement of even their domestic traffic could in such times be expected; much less the commencement of a foreign trade to a distant and undifcover'd country. That great body was as yet unanimated by the spirit of commerce. To check and restrain troublesome neighbours, and at length command and protect them; to humble the pride, and weaken the strength of dangerous rivals; to dethrone kings, and dispose of kingdoms, as best suited their own political or interested views; to subdue, and to polish, the most savage and barbarous nations; to enlarge the boundaries and advance the grandeur of the empire; and to fill the public treasury, and enrich individuals with the plunder of captur'd cities and conquer'd provinces; - were the principal objects of their care and concern. Not that they were stimulated to great actions by a greediness of gain, but by a thirst after glory and honour: And though not ignorant that riches and power are mutually productive of each other, their aim was not so much an accumulation of wealth, as an extention of their power and dominion. Such immenfe riches as their rival state had derived from its extensive trade and commerce, and which rendered it so powerful as to dispute with the Romans themselves for the empire of the world, was to them merely adventitious; as being not the object they had in view, but accidentally refulting from that power and authority, which they had previously obtained." Chapple's General Descript. of Devon, p. 106 to 114.

(a) See Harmer's Observations on the Bible.

(b) "The poet Dionysius, having described all the nations of the known world, concludes with the Indo-Scythæ; of whom he gives a more ample, and a more particular account, than of any, who have preceded. He dwells long upon their habits and manners; their rites and customs; their merchandize, industry, and knowledge: and has transmitted some excellent specimens of their antent history.

Ινδον πας ποταμον Νοτιοι Σκυθαι ενναικσιν, &c. &c.

Dion. Perieg. v. 1088.

Upon the banks of the great river Ind
The Scuthern Scuthæ dwell; which river pays
Its wat'ry tribute to that mighty fea
Stiled Erythrean. Far remov'd its fource,
Amid the stormy cliffs of Caucasus:
Descending hence through many a winding vale,
It separates vast nations. To the west
Th' Oritæ live and Aribes: and then
The Ara-cotii sam'd for linen geer, &c. &c.
To 'num'rate all, who rove this wide domain.
Surpasses human pow'r: the Gods can tell,

But (to drop this idea) their connexion with the Phenicians for many successive ages before Cæsar, must render the above position at least improbable. The Phenicians, I need not repeat, were, of all the ancient nations, the most skilful navigators: They were famed both for the structure and for the management of their vessels. (a) Is it at all likely, therefore, that the Danmonians, so long conversant with the Phenicians, should have indolently rested in their little ofier boats, whilst the losty ships of the Phenicians were continually at anchor in their harbours? Is it possible, that they should have acquiesced from generation to generation, in a rude sishing vessel, when they might have assembled, whenever they pleased, the Phenician ship, and have thoroughly examined its construction? Can we conceive, that, exposed as the Danmonians were, in their frail barks, to the dangers of the sea, they could have been satisfied with such vehicles, even if none of a better construction had been ever presented to their observation? Gratified, however, as they were, with a full view of ships, both safe and commodious, do we imagine them so sensels as to stare only, with stupid wonder, at those ships? Had they wondered, their wonder would soon cease: Astonishment is a transitory passion: It does not last for ages. When the novelty, therefore, of the object was over, would not the Danmonians naturally begin to consider the Phenician ships as excellent models for imitation? And would they not proceed to construct vessels for themselves, after these models?

The Gods alone; for nothing's hid from Heaven. Let it suffice, if I their worth declare. These were the first great sounders in the world, Founders of cities and of mighty states:

Who shew'd a path through seas, before unknown: And when doubt reign'd and dark uncertainty, Who render'd life more certain. They first view'd The starry lights, and form'd them into schemes. In the first ages, when the sons of men Knew not which way to turn them, they assign'd To each his just department: they bestow'd Of Iand a portion and of sea a lot; And sent each wand'ring tribe far off, to share A diff'rent soil and climate. Hence arose The great diversity, so plainly seen Mid nations widely severed.

Such is the character given by the poet Dionysius of the Indian Scuthæ, under their various denominations. They were sometimes called *Phoinices*: and those of that name in Syria were of Cuthite extraction. In consequence of this, the poet in speaking of them, gives the same precise character, as he has exhibited above, and specifies plainly their original.

Οι δ' άλος εγγυς εοντες, επωνυμιην Φοινικές.

Upon the Syrian sea the people live
Who stile themselves Phænicians. These are sprung
From the true ancient Erythrean stock;
From that sage race, who first essay'd the deep,
And wasted merchandize to coasts unknown.
These too digested first the starry choir;
Their motions mark'd and call'd them by their names."—Col. Vallancey.

(a) According to Sammes, the Phenicians had built great ships in the time of Solomon, and were accustomed to long and tedious voyages. "Now it is (says this author) that we hear of Danaus, and his great ship Penteconteros, or sifty oars, in which he arrived out of Ægypt into Greece, which voyage may be gathered out of an Inscription upon an old marble, part of which by time is worn out. It is thus.

'Αφε ναῦ .... η .... ων εξ 'Αιγύπθε .. ις την 'Ελλάδα ἔπλουσε και ωνομάσθη πενθηκόντες ων και αί Δανάε θυγατές ες ... ωνη και ... βα .... α ςείω και 'Ελική και Αςχδιχή αποκληςωθεΐσαι λοιπῶν .... αντ ... και ἐθυσαν επὶ τῆς ἄκθης ἐμπαςα .. δί τῆς 'Ροδιας ἔτη

ΧΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΙΙ.

By the learned Selden rendered to this sence.

Since the Ship.... came from Ægypt into Greece, and was called Penteconteros, and the Daughters of Danaus.... and Helice, and Archedice chosen from the rest.... and facrificed upon the shoar in Para.... de in Lindus, a City of Rhodes. MCCXLVII."—Brit. Antiqu. Illust. p. 10.

That they were not unskilled in the mechanical arts, their chariot is a sufficient proof: On this point, we cannot hefitate. The application, therefore, of their talents to ship-building, was eafy, and, I will add, unavoidable. Cæfar, it is true, has noticed the ofier-boats only, of the Britons: And Cæfar's authority, as far as it goes, is valid. But Cæfar was not acquainted with Danmonium. The veffels he faw, he described: What he had no opportunity of observing, or of having satisfactorily attested, he left unnoticed. And so distant was Danmonium from the scene of his victories, that he probably met with no creditable people, who could answer his enquiries relating to the genius or customs of the western Britons. In short, I think, the silence of Cæsar as to this point, and the silence, indeed, of history in general, will furnish no argument against my opinion, that the Danmonians were in possession of vessels superior to fishing-boats, long before Cæsar's That the British boats should have been so much noticed by ancient writers, was, probably, owing to the fingularity and novelty of their form: They were Afiatic; and, therefore, uncommon in the eyes of Europeans. (a) In the mean time, the British vessels of a better form, were more, perhaps, like the ships of other countries; and were, therefore, seldom mentioned. Though the larger ships of the Danmonians be not described, we have historical evidence, enough, I think, to prove that such vessels must have existed. To say nothing of the (b)" LONGIS NAVIBUS HAUD ITA MULTIS," in which the colonial voyage from S. Scythia was performed, it is a certain fact, that many of the Danmonians embarked for Ireland at the time of the Belgic invasion, that such a body of people croffed the feas as to form a colony on the Irish coast, and that this emigration was made with the greatest dispatch, whilst the Belgæ were overrunning the country. Not to notice the embarkation of troops from Danmonium on other occasions, this single expedition, I think (more than three centuries before Cæsar) should leave on our minds no mean impression of the Danmonian navy. That great numbers of people, furnished not only with voyaging stores, but with every thing necessary for an establishment in another country, should set fail from Danmonium, on the alarm of a hostile invasion, and consequently without time for much preparation, and that they should be conveyed in safety across the seas, and actually form a new colony on a foreign coast, is scarcely possible, unless we give them credit for having been good ship-builders as well as skilful navigators. They must have had capacious vessels in their docks: A colony, with all its provisions, in little ofier boats—is ridiculous. With respect to the ship-building and navigation of the Greeks, who fuccessively followed the Phenicians in trading to this part of the island, and probably in planting colonies here, there are certain facts on record, which cannot be disputed. We have it on the authority of Athenæus, that about two hundred years before Cæsar, the Greeks had made a rapid progress in ship-building and navigation. That famous flup which was built at Syracuse under the direction of Archimedes, is at once a proof of the proficiency of the Greeks in the maritime arts and of their connexion with Britain. According to Athenæus, this ship had three masts, of which the second and third were easily procured; but it was long before a tree for the main-mast could be found. At length a proper tree was discovered in the mountains of Britain; and brought down to the sea-coast by machines invented by a famous mechanic Phileas Tauromenites. This is a curious fact. And the mountains of Britain, I conceive, were the mountains of Danmonium. In other parts of the island, the Greeks had very slight connexions. It was with Danmonium that they traded: It was here, they had established their factory: It was here, they had fixed a colony. But, whether the timber for the mainmast of this Grecian ship were discovered in Danmonium or

(a) Primum cana falix, madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim, cœfoque inducta juvenco
Victoris patiens, tumidum circumnatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, susoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano
. . . . rei ad miraculum

Luc. Pharfal. 1. 4.

Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus, Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.

Fest. Avienus in Oris Marit.

See, also, Cæsar, p. 240. and Pliny, l. 4. c. 16.

(b) Saxon Chronicle, p. 1. They were but few ships: yet they contained a sufficient number of people to form a new colony in a very distant country—a proof that, these few ships must have

been capacious.
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any other part of the island, it is probable from this circumstance, that the art of shipbuilding had been communicated to the Britons. As we advance in the argument, the proofs become more convincing. We shall find them, indeed, irresistible. That the Britons were acquainted with ship-building and navigation before the time of Cæsar, appears, I think, from the following circumstances. Though the Veneti of Britany confessedly excelled all the continental nations in their knowledge of maritime affairs, and in the number and strength of their ships, yet, when they were preparing to fight a decifive battle against the Romans by sea, they asked and obtained auxiliaries from Britain. And this they certainly would not have done, if the Britons could have affifted them only with a few wicker-boats. The Britons, therefore, had, probably, ships nearly of the same form and construction with those of their friends and allies the Veneti. And the ships of the Veneti are described by Cæsar, as large, lofty, and strong, built entirely of thick planks of oak, and fo folid, that the beaks of the Roman ships could make no impression on them. In that famous sea-fight off the coasts of Armorica, the combined sleets of the Veneti and the Britons confifted of two hundred and twenty of these large and strong ships. (a) To close the whole, let us recur to Ossian: There are passages, I think, in his poems, which must determine the controversy. The very name of the British prince who was believed to be the inventor of ships, and the first who conducted a colony out of Britain into Ireland, is preserved in these poems. 'Larthon, the first of Bolga's race, who travelled on the winds—who first sent the black ship through ocean, like a whale through the bursting of foam. He mounts the wave on his own dark oak in Cluba's ridgy bay—that oak which he cut from Lumon, to bound along the fea. The maids turn their eyes away, lest the king should be lowly laid. For never had they feen a ship, dark rider of the waves!" This expedition of Larthon must have happened two or three centuries before the first Roman invasion; from which period the intercourse between Caledonia and Ireland was frequent: Hence the people of both countries must have gradually improved in ship-building and navigation. These arts were so far advanced in the days of Fingal, that this illustrious here made several expeditions, accompanied by some hundreds of his warriors, not only into Ireland, but into Scandinavia, and the islands of the Baltic. We learn from the poems of Offian, that the ancient Britons of Caledonia Recred their course by certain stars, in their voyages to Ireland and Scandinavia. "I bade my white sails (says Fingal) rise before the roar of Cona's wind—When the night came down, I looked on high for fiery-haired Ul-crim. Nor wanting was the star of heaven: it travelled red between the clouds: I pursued the lovely beam on the faint-gleaming deep." In another passage of these poems, no less than seven of these stars which were particularly observed by the British sailors, are named and described, as they were embossed on the shield of Cathmor, chief of Atha. "Seven bosses rose on the shield—On each boss is placed a star of night; Can-mathon with beams unshorn; Colderna rising from a cloud; Uloicho robed in mist; Cathlin glittering on a rock. Reldurath half sinks its western light—Berthen looks through a grove—Tonthena, that star which looked, by night, on the course of the sea-tossed Larthon." When a sleet of the ancient Britons failed under the command of one leader, the commander's ship was known by his shield Iming high on the mast: And the several signals were given by striking the different bosses of that thield, which were commonly feven; each yielding a different and well-known found. "Three hundred youths looked from their waves on Fingal's boffy fhield. High on the mast it hung, and marked the dark blue sea .- But when the night came down, I fruck at times the warning boss—Seven bosses rose on the shield; the seven voices of the king, which his warriors received from the wind, and marked over all their tribes."

After this deduction of the British commerce, from the earliest times down to the Roman Period, it is natural to enquire, whether this commerce was carried on by way of barter (the exchange of one commodity for another) or whether certain metals, as gold, silver, and brass, the great medium of commerce in almost every age, were adopted as the representatives of different commodities. The primitive mode of commerce was the exchanging of one commodity for another: But the great inconveniencies experienced by those who carried on their trade in the way of barter, soon occasioned the invention of money. It should seem from a few scattered passages in ancient authors, that the Britons were unacquainted with money, or with its mercantile uses. Yet, that the Britons

had the knowledge of (a) money, and that they used brass-money, is evident from this passage in Cæsar: Utuntur aut ereo aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo. (b) But Cæsar is here speaking of the Britons on the sea-coasts, particularly those of Kent, who imported their brass from the Continent. With the Danmonians, Cæfar had, at this time, little or no acquaintance. I only quote, therefore, his authority, to prove one simple fact, that the Britons knew the use of money before the time of Cæsar. For it is not probable, that the money in circulation among the people of Kent, should be confined to their own district. The principal trading towns in the island, were, doubtless, acquainted with money. Nor could the merchants of Exeter, in particular, be ignorant of its use. That money coined at British mints had been long circulated through the island, is plain from the Roman edict suppressing all such coins, and prohibition the research of the r biting the use of any money in Britain, but what was stamped with the image of a Casfar. In the mean time, we are not to imagine, that the Britons used brass and iron money only; to the exclusion of those metals which were so obviously preferable for the mint. In our Danmonian mines were produced no small quantities of gold and silver. And that the Danmonians had gold coins, is plain from those of Karnbre, which Borlase has exhibited in his Antiquities of Cornwall, plate XIX, and which he has properly attributed to the Britons. In his Natural History of Cornwall, Borlase has also exhibited (as supplemental) several coins of the same kind, in plate XXIX. Of all these coins, I shall here infert my learned countryman's description, as I think they are particularly curious, and then offer both Borlase's and my own conjectures on the subject. "In the month of June 1749, in the middle of the ridge of Karnbre-hill, were found such a number of coins of pure gold, as being fold for weight, brought the finder about 16 pounds, sterling. Near the same quantity was found by another person near the same spot, a few days after; all which were foon fold and difpers'd: fome were much worn and smooth'd, not by age, or lying in the earth, but by use, they having no allay to harden, and secure them from wearing. Seventeen I exhibit in plate XIX. of different impressions, size, or weights; several others found at the same time and place, I have seen, but being of the fame fort as these examples, I think it needless to lay them before the public. I range the rudest, and those which have figures most unknown first, (as others engag'd in the same fubject have done) being, in all probability, the most ancient; the others follow according as their criterions seem to become more and more perfect, and modern. I mention their weight also, as a material circumstance, (tho' omitted by other authors) for classing them, and discovering what are, and what are not the same fort of coin. The first has fome figures upon it which I do not understand; its weight is twenty-two grains. No. II. has some figures on one side, which I do not so much as guess at; on the other side it has the limb, or trunk of a tree, with little branches springing from it in one part; and what I take also for the body of a tree, with two round holes, or marks, where the limbs have been lopt off, and roots at the bottom on the other part: it weighs only 23 grains. No. III. has a figure, which, in the coin attributed to Cassibelan, (by Speed pag. 30) is more plain, and resembles two dolphins turning their crooked backs to each other; on the other fide it has a plain large stump of a tree, with two branches breaking out on each fide; it rifes out of the ground, and stands between two smaller trees: it weighs 23 grains. No. IV. is quite defac'd on one fide; but on the other, it has fome parts of a horse, and some little round studs, or button-like embossiments, both which marks will be particularly

<sup>(</sup>a) As to the antiquity of money, it was certainly in use in Arabia, when the book of Job was written, of which Moses is supposed to have been the translator; for in Job, mention is made of a species of money, called Kestab. The seminine termination of this word in Hebrew, according to Bochart, implies a semale lamb; but he clearly shews it was a piece of money so called. In the time of R. Akiba, the Africans preserved this name for a coin. Cum per Africam peregrinarer, Obolum vocabant kestam. (1) "The Hiberno Scythian or Irish name for money is keess, keessa, or keessha, in Persic keeseb (says Vallancey). The Irish word, I think, is derived from ceas or keas, ore, refined ore, or metal: whence Co-Keas, or the mountain Caucasus, remarkable for its mines. The samous iron mines in Armenia, are called el-Kuses by the Arabs at this day. The Chaldee kesta in Job, was undoubtedly the Scythian name for refined ore, i. e. money, and, as Bochart observes, had no references to lamb or kid." b. Cæsar, 1. 5. c. 12.

<sup>(1)</sup> Bochart, Hierozic. v. 2. c. 43. p. 432. 1. 20,

discours'd of when we come to explain the several uncommon figures which these coins afford us: weighs 26 grains. No. V. has one side esfac'd; the reverse is a horse, betwixt the legs of which there is a wheel, and from it's back rifes the stem of a spear, or javelin: weight 26 grains. No. VI. has the stem of a tree, with its collateral branches very diftinct; in the middle, it is cross'd slopewise by a bar like the shaft of a spear; the reverse has the horse, the wheel, and spear, but somewhat disserently plac'd on the gold. The weight is twenty-five grains and a half, by which I conclude, that the side which is defaced in No. V. was the same as in this coin, for the reverses are the same, and their weight corresponds to half a grain, which may be allowed for the greater use that has been made of this, than of the former. No. VII. has on one side some appearance of a human head, which side of the coins we shall henceforth call the bead, as medallists generally do, to avoid a multiplicity of words; on the reverse the remains are so mutilated, that it can be only faid, that this reverse was much ornamented, but what the ornaments were, is not to be discover'd. It weighs 23 grains. No. VIII. has the lines of a garland, or diadem on the bead. The reverse has the exergue at bottom, supported by jagg'd lines interspers'd with dots, above which are some barbarous figures, which are to be explain'd as well as we can, and their orderly placing here, and in some of the other coins, accounted for in their proper place. It weighs four penny weights, three grains. No. IX. has a head much defac'd, but visible, as is also the outline of the neck, and the ear; behind the forehead, and nose, it has three semicircular protuberances; the reverse has the same figure as the reverse of No. VIII. but has more little round study on it, (the die which gave the impression, being placed farther back in this, than in the former) and discovers therefore a circular figure, No. 7. with three pointed javelins No. 6. underneath it, which the other impression has not; but by the run of the die the former has one of the figures which is not in this. It weighs four penny weights three grains, which weight, and the reverse charg'd with like figures (though differently plac'd) shews that these two coins were struck at one time, by the same die, and are of the same value. No. X. has a laureated diadem, across which, at right angles, is a fillet, or rather class, and a faint appearance of a hook at the end of it, the rest defac'd. The reverse bas a very distinct exergue at bottom; the same figures partly as No. VIII. IX. but the die was plac'd still farther back on the gold, therefore not altogether the same, the javelins, or spears (or whatever those pointed stakes signify) being in this coin cut off by a defcending line, intimating that but part only of those instruments were to be exhibited. It weighs four penny weights two grains, by which it is probable, that it is the same fort of coin with the two foregoing, allowing one grain out of fifty for the wear. No. XI. has the laureated diadem and clasp, above which the hair turns off in bold curls; the reverse has the same charge as the three foregoing, but better plac'd, and it should be a coin of the same fort, but it weighs four penny weights and seven grains, so that it must have been much less us'd, than the others, if of the same time and value. No. XII. has on the head several parallel lines sashioned into squares, looking like the plan of a town, of which the streets cross nearly at right angles, and the whole cut by one straight and wider street than the rest. On the reverse are the remains of a horse with a collar or garland round his neck, and behind, something like a charioteer driving forward: underneath the horse is a wheel, and a few study scatter'd near the extremities of the coin. One penny weight three grains. No. XIII. just shews the faint profile of a human face; the reverse a horse, a spear hanging forward towards the horse's neck, some appearance of a charioteer above the horse: it weighs only twenty three grains. No. XIV. has a laureated diadem round the temples, above which the hair turns back in large curls: the diadem has the clasp, or ribbon, which has a hook at the bottom of it, and on the shoulder is a fibula or button which tuck'd up the loose garment. The reverse has a Borse with a wheel below it, and many small, and large studs above it. It weigh'd 2's grains. No. XV. exhibits a distinct human face in profile; the head is laureated, class'd, and cirrated as the others, which plainly shews, that where there is only a simple laureated d adem now to be seen, as in Nos, X. XI. XIV. there the human face also was, though now worn out. The reverse has a horse, with a wheel below it, and crescents, studs, and balls above it. Weight 26 grains. No. XVI. is the best preserved coin as well as largest and most distinct, which I have seen of the gold coins found in Cornwall. The profile is well proportion'd, and neither destitute of spirit nor expression: and it is somewhat surprizing that an artist who could design the human face so well, should draw the horse so very indifferently on the other side. This head has two rows of curls above

the laureated diadem, and the folds of the garments rife up round the neck close to the ear. The reverse, a horse, a wheel, balls and crescents, as in the rest. Weight four penny weight, fourteen grains. No. XVII. is the same weight as No. XIII. and the horse is nearly of the same turn, but here it has a crest of beads or pearl for a mane, as No. XIV. It has also some appearance of reins (as of a bridle) under the jaw; the horse is better turn'd than in any of them. Behind the wheel, it has fomething depending like a pole, which reaches the ground; whether a reclining spear, or what their scythes might be fasten'd to, or any other part of the chariot is uncertain, but the charioteer is plain. I perceive no letters on any of them; some are plain, or flat; some a little concave on one fide and convex on the other, but not remarkably fo. Eight coins are here subjoin'd, from the cabinets of the curious, not yet publish'd, which may tend to illustrate the fore-going. The five following are copied from the collection of the Rev. Mr. Gifford, of Queen square, Ormond-street, London, and were in his possession before the gold coins above describ'd were found at Karn-bre, but in what part of Britain they were found is uncertain. No. XVIII. on one fide a head emboss'd; the reverse a very uncouth ancient horse with its head to the right hand; the other ornaments as in the rest: the use we shall make of this, shall be to explain the marks of those which go before, where, though the fame, they are not so distinct, nor treated of by any author I have yet seen. Weight four penny weight, one grain; a little concave on the reverse. No. XIX. bars, stakes, or fragments of spears, or javelins crossing irregularly; reverse a horse, with a spear leaning forth over it's neck, the spear held (as it were) by an arm reaching forward; splinters or pieces of spears in other parts of the coin; a garland round the horses's neck, the mane made of a line of studs; a little convex on the reverse. Weight 29 grains. No. XX. a noble coin; the head is ornamented in the same manner as No. XVI. but has the clasp over the diadem much plainer; the hook at the bottom of the clasp also very plain, and shews the shape of this member, in Nos. X. XI. XIV. XV. where they are defective. It has more curls below the diadem, and the hair of the hinder part of the head feems traced in ribbons studded with pearl: it shews also more of the habit than No. XVI. but it has either lost or never had the profile, in which particular it falls greatly short of the other. The reverse is a horse in the same style, and surrounded with the same ornaments as No. XVI. the weight is four penny weight, nineteen grains, which is five grains more than the above coin, and if that difference may be imputed to the different use made of these coins, (a) they are of one age, were originally of one weight and value, and very likely of one and the same prince. No. XXI. the *bead* defac'd. The reverse a horse well fhap'd, and of neat defign: underneath, is a star of five rays, form'd very artificially by the intersection of three equal triangles. (b) Both the horse and this geometrical figure, shew this coin to be much more modern than any of our Karn-bre coins; it is a little concave on the reverse, and weighs twenty grains and a half. No. XXII. a well preserv'd face, and of elegant workmanship. In the reverse the horse is well proportion'd, has a charioteer behind it, pointing forward the spear, a wheel of dots under it supported by an exergue, and the chariot-wheel also close at the horse's heels: the mane of the horse is a line of beads or pearls. This coin is still more modern than the rest, and is of the fame fort in all appearance, as that publish'd in the last edition of Camden, vol. I. tab. ii. No. XXX; though for want of the weight being specified, it can't certainly be affirm'd. It weighs 29 grains and a half. No. XXIII. is a coin from the cabinet of Smart Lethe-ullier, Efq. of Aldersbrook in Effex. In the head, it has the laureated diadem with some curl'd hair above it, over which comes the class. Under the diadem seems the collarornament of No. XX. but out of its place; underneath are two large crescents, so that this fide of the coin feems to be a collection of the ornaments of the head inferted together, and the face never intended. I find this coin very near the same as Dr. Plot's coin, (pag. 335. No. 21. Oxfordshire) who takes it to contain two faces of Prasutagus and Boadicea, but I see nothing tending that way. (c) In the reverse is a horse of the

(a) There are four grains difference betwixt No. IX. and XI. which however are certainly coins of the same fort. (b) I find the same figure in one of the British coins publish'd in Dr. Battely's

Antiq. Rhutupianæ. page 93. Borlase.

(c) The learned Mr. Walker (from whom Dr. Plot had this coin, which is also publish'd in Camden, Tab. I. No. 29.) I find of the same opinion, that it does not contain two faces: "I see no resemblance (says he, Camden page CXVI.) of one or more faces, I rather imagine it to be some fortification;" which latter supposition, I can't but observe, is as far wide of the truth as Dr. Plot's; as by comparing this coin with the others here produc'd, will readily appear. Borlase.

same style as No. XVII. but the wheel is larger, and the ears and tail of the horse more apparent, though of very clumfy defign; the whole favouring of great antiquity, and thewing the low pitch of the art of coining, at this time, in the nation to which this coin belongs. But the greatest curiosity of this coin, and the reason, indeed, for which it is here introduc'd, is, that it is neither gold, nor wholly electrum, or any imitation of gold, but seems to be copper plated over with a mix'd metal in imitation of gold. No. XXIV. and XXV. are filver coins of the same kind, from the cabinet of the Rev. Mr. Wise, Radcliff Librarian, Oxford, and inferted here for confirming the descriptions that go before, as will be more particularly explain'd hereafter; they were found in the parish of Swacliffe near Madinarston Castle, Oxfordshire, 1746." (a)—" There are many parts of our British coins, which, the faithfully enough copied by engravers, are yet wrongly plac'd in the plates, because, indeed, they did not know what they had copy'd. This is the reason that we find the diadem, sometimes horizontal, (b) at other times perpendicular; (c) whereas we all know, that this should rife sloping from the ear to the forehead. In Montfaucon's plate No. 16. the horse is laid on his back with his legs uppermost; and in No. 36. the horse's body is perpendicular, and so is the line of the exergue; which same sault is committed in placing the reverse of Plot's No. 21. page 335. plain evidences, that the engraver did not understand the figure, tho' he drew the fize and shape, not knowing what animal it was, or whether an animal or not: and, whoever copy'd the fine gold coin in Camden's last edit. pag. 833, No. 21. (of the fame age with some of those at Karnbre) most certainly did not know what figure he had be-fore him, and therefore 'tis no wonder that the learned editor, depending on his engraver, should place the horse upon his back. There is one thing more necessary to be observ'd, in order to place these coins with propriety, which is, that several of our Karn-bre coins have not the horse on the reverse, (as No. VIII, IX, X, XI.) but instead thereof, have certain members, and symbols adjusted together in such a manner as to imitate the shape of a horse, and become, when joyn'd together, the emblem, rather than the figure, of that creature, which the engraver knew no better how to defign. These several symbols are not to be explain'd, but by the coins in which we find the same parts inserted in the composition of the entire figure in some, which in others are detach'd, and unconnected. The latter must derive their light from the former. For example. In No. VIII. you find three of the figures mark'd in the table of symbols (d) No. 1. In No. IX. there are four of the same symbols; in No. X. two, No. XI. four. What should be the intent of placing such figures, in such numbers on these reverses? Why, in No. XVIII. and XIX. we find the legs of the horse made in this unnatural fashion; and it is observable, that where the horse is not, there these legs (the most useful parts of this useful creature) are plac'd. They are four in number, in Nos. IX. and XI. and would have been also in the same number and place, in No. VIII. and X. (for by the weight, and symbols, these four must have been coins of the same fort, time and value); but that the mould in striking these latter, was misplac'd. (e) They are plac'd two and two, with a ball, or wheel between them, as in the coins which have horses entire. Between them the halfmoon dips his convex part, fomething in the manner of the horses barrell, above which another crescent-like bunch forms the back; a round ball turns to shape the buttock, and on the forepart, a thick handle of a javelin flopes upwards from the breast to form the neck and crest of the horse. In coin XI. we find these symbols in full number, (i. e. four) very distinct, and as justly plac'd as the engraver's skill could direct. When these are plac'd double, as in coin XVII, they feem intended to denote there being two horses a-breast, as was the ancient custom of drawing the fighting chariots. Two little figures of this shape are also plac'd in the later coins. When, therefore, such figures occur in British coins, we need but refer to these of Karn-bre; and we find immediately, that they were intended for some parts of a horse. Round the horse's neck of No. XII. there is a garland, or bracelet, which in No. XIX. is also plainly to be discover'd. There is usually a circular figure under the belly of the horse, which in some, is a distinct wheel, as in coins V, VI, XII, XIX, XX, XXII, XXIII. and therefore in the rest where this figure is less distinct it must be deem'd an aim at, or rude imitation of the same thing. The wheel is to denote the

<sup>(</sup>a) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 242 to 247.

(b) Plot Oxf. No. 21, pag. 335.

(c) Wise No. 1.

(d) plate XIX.

(e) These parts of the horse, (III.) are but very little better plac'd in coins XVII. and XXII.

where the horse is entire: these last mention'd coins, therefore, are next in antiquity to No. XI.

chariot to which the horse belong'd. The learned Walker says, 'that the wheel under the horse amongst the Romans, intimated the making of an high way for carts, so many of which, being in the Roman times made in this country, well deserved such a memotial(a)." What the wheel signified among the Romans I shall not dispute, but it could not be inserted in the British coins (as he seems to imply) for that purpose; for there were no Roman ways made in Britain till after Claudius's conquest, and we find the wheel common in Cunobelin's coins, (b) and in Cassibelan's No. II. ib. in No. XVI, XVII, XVIII. and in Plot's 21; and also in the Cornish coins, which from all their characters appear to be older than the rest. The wheel is usually plac'd under the belly of the horse, but is sometimes found in two places on the same coin, (as in No. 9, and 32, of tab. II. in Camden) one above, and one below the horse, to denote (as I imagine) the two wheels of the effeda. One of these wheels (the upper one in No. 9. ibid.) Walker takes to be the sun. There are many balls, or globules, dispers'd in all the Cornish coins, which are of two sizes; those of the least kind are, or seem, merely ornamental, being strung in rows like beads or pearls, and serve now and then in a regular figure to form the mane of a horse, (as in No. V, XVI, XVII, XX, XXII.); the circumference, or out line of the wheel, (No. XXII. and Mr. Wise's Bodlean No. 2.) or a kind of bracelet, or garland, (two of which may be seen in one reverse of the Bodlean No. 11.) round the neck, or body of the horse. There is another round figure in these coins, which is of the middle fize, and is a ring, or discus, either pierc'd, or emboss'd. They are larger in No. IX, X, XI, than the wheel itself, a disproportion owing to the rudeness of the art when first practised. When these are embosed, as I find them in a well preserved coin in the Bodlean cabinet, I imagine they are to represent either the shield, or rather the faminæ, and may shew that they had iron plates, as well as rings that serv'd instead of money. In No. XX. some of these balls are plainly pierc'd; in No. 12. of the Bodlean they are plain, and plac'd where the roundness of the horse's body, shoulder, and but-tock, made 'em fall in with the shape of the creature; there are others in the Bodlean collection, and in the reverse of Speed's Cassibelan, but no where more plain than in Dr. Plot's No. 21. (pag. 335. Oxfordshire) where there are five near the edge of the coin, and more, tho' of a smaller size, dispers'd in the field of the coin, not only of the reverse, but of the head. I am persuaded that the little annular figures will make the learned reader easily recollect the annuli ferrei of Cæsar, and as easily assent to their being inserted on purpose to represent the ancient money which the Britans had before they coin'd after the Roman and Grecian manner; and, perhaps, afterwards too, for a while, when the gold, filver, and brass currency fell short of answering the exigencies of the state. These rings are taken notice of by Cæsar, as made of iron, adjusted to a certain weight, and standard, and us'd instead of money, and the figures of them on these coins, where this fymbol is pierc'd may confirm the reading of that passage, to be as in Plantin's edit. (lib. v. pag, 87.) 'annulis ferreis;' as the emboss'd ones may in some measure assure us, that they us'd also taleis, or laminis, as we read it in others. Where there are many of these symbols, they should signify the plenty of money in the little kingdoms where they were struck. In many of these Karnbre coins, viz. VIII, IX, X, XI, XVI. and in No. XXII, we find a crescent, or some such figure, (No. 3.) and in the head of Dr. Plot's (No. 21.) there are three; what intended to fignify, is uncertain. We know the crefcent was among the most honourable badges of the Druid order, and from the moon at fix days old, they regulated the beginning of their months, years, and ages, every thirtieth year; so that the moon was of constant and especial note among the ancient Britans: but whether it be really a crescent, or not, I do not pretend to decide. It might possibly be intended to represent the golden hook with which their priests with so much solemnity cut their divine misletoe, or to record the hooks or scythes fastened to the axis of their chariots of war, for such they had, (c) and on these coins we find several allusions to this manner of fighting. Which of these suppositions is most likely, let the reader determine as he thinks best. There is a remarkable rectilineal figure which leans obliquely in a line nearly parallel to the creft of the horse, with which, or it's emblem, it is always combin'd: it is feen in No. V, VI. more uncouth still in No. VIII, IX, XI. but very distinct

<sup>(</sup>a) Camden, pag. CX, and in CXV. On No. 2, and 3, he has an observation of the same kind.
(b) See Speed No. VIII, and XIII.

<sup>(</sup>c) "Dimicant (scil. Britanni) non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus Gallice armati. Covinos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur." Pomp. Mela lib. iii. c. viii.

in XIII. This I take to represent the spear, with which the Britans were so dexterous in fighting, from their chariots. In No. VI. it is placed cross the tree, out of which the shaft was made, and in gratitude perhaps to the tree, for affording the best shafts for these useful arms. In these coins then, the principal figure is the horse; the wheel, (emblem of the chariot,) constantly attends the horse; the spear is visible in ten of these coins produc'd, and in No. XXII. the human figure is plain, pointing forward the spear, or javelin, as if advancing to attack the enemy. In No. XIII. there are some traces of the same kind, and more rude attempts to delineate the same in No. VIII, IX, X, XI. for the spear has the same direction in all. In No. XVII. the charioteer is very apparentin some winged like a victory—the bridle—and something like a trapping—a pendant or trailed spear, or scythe. To what other purpose then are these warlike things collected and inferted in their coins, but to fignify, that the chief glory of the Britans was their skill in fighting from their chariots? The Britans (says Cæsar, lib. iv.) have this manner of fighting from their chariots; 'first they advance through all parts of their army, and throw their javelins, and having wound themselves in among the troops of horse, they alight and fight on foot; the charioteers retiring a little with their chariots, but posting themselves in such a manner, that if they see their masters press'd, they may be able to bring them off: by this means the Britans have the agility of horse, and the firmness of foot, and by daily exercise have attain'd to such skill and management, that in a declivity they can govern the horses, though at full speed, check and turn them short about, run forward upon the pole, stand firm upon the yoke, and then withdraw them-felves nimbly into their chariots.' The Britans being train'd to, and excelling all others in this peculiar manner of fighting, (Cæsar himself, more than once acknowledging the disorder, into which these effedarii had thrown the Roman soldiers) (a) had nothing more glorious to record in their coins than this artful and efficacious manner of combat; and no coins with fuch fymbols, so likely to be of any nation as of Britain. Thence come the horse, the wheel, the spear or javelin, and the charioteer, and perhaps the hook with which their chariot was arm'd. In the first six Karn-bre coins here exhibited, there is no appearance of the human bead. In No. VII. and VIII. there are some faint traits of a diadem. In No. IX. the profile of the face, the ear and class, and outline of the neck is plain, but the diadem, which was certainly there (as must be inferr'd from No. X. and XI) is effac'd, and the coin has lost four grains more than No. XI. which shews that it has been so much more us'd. In No. X, XI, XIV, XV, XVI, the diadem is plain and firong. It is form'd of leaves which have this peculiarity, that they point downwards, whereas, in the ancient Roman and Grecian coins the leaves point upwards. There is another difference between the diadem in the Karnbre coins, and in the Greek and Roman; for, whereas, in the last mention'd, the fillet or ribband on which the diadem is grounded (or by which 'tis bound together) makes a very elegant knot behind the head, the British coins have no such thing, but have a straight bandage, or rather clasp which crosses the diadem at right angles, and was doubtless design'd (like the fillet of the ancients) to keep the diadem firm in its place, and close to the bead. This is the meaning of that straight figure crossing the diadem in No. X, XI. and XIV. and XVI. of the Karnbre coins; but is most plainly visible in No. XX, XXIV, and XXV. with a hook or scroll at the end of it, and but for these well preserved coins, would have still remained uncertain and unknown. Above the diadem, the hair turns off in bold curls, sometimes in one tire or row, as in No. X, XI, XIV, XV, but in the larger coins in two rows, as No. XVI, and XX.(b) Round the neck, in No. XIV. the habit of the prince just appears: in No. XVI. a kind of scolloped lace or ornament of embroidery: more of just appears; in No. XVI. a kind of scollop'd lace or ornament of embroidery; more of which is still to be seen in No. XX. In No. I, II, III, VI. trees are plac'd in the bead part, (as was before observ'd in the description) but there are few if any rings or balls: the reason seems to be this; the riches of the country where these were coin'd, consisted in woods, (not in money) and therefore they took the tree for their fymbol, as the countries abounding in corn took the spica, and those which had plenty of pearls took the

(a) "Ordines plerumque perturbant." (lib. iv. pag. 83.) "Perturbatis nostris novitate pugnæ." ibid. lib. v. pag. 93. "Equites Hostium Esse-darjique acriter prælio cum Equitatu nostro in itinere conflixerunt."—"Novo genere pugnæ perterritis Nostris." ibid.

(b) The Gauls were call'd Comati, from their long hair. The Britans had probably the same

(b) The Gauls were call'd Comati, from their long hair. The Britans had probably the same custom, for all uncultivated nations were long hair, except the Alani. (Lucian Tox.) It was an instance of their wildness. Borlase.

globules refembling pearl, and those which had plenty of gold and money, took the ringlets, or laminæ into their coins. (a) The figure in the head of No. XII. has been before observ'd to resemble the ichnography of a city, and was probably inserted in the coin by the founder, to record the erection of some city: for that the Britans had such cities, is very plain from the noble ruins (containing in circuit about three or four miles) near Wrottesley in the county of Stanord, where (as Dr. Plot thinks) (b) 'the parallel partitions, within the outwall, whose foundations are still visible, and represent street running different ways, put it out of doubt that it must have been a city, and that of the Britans."(c) In the Natural History, plate XXIX. "Fig. v. and vi. are two goldcoins found at Karn-bre in the year 1749, with those published in the Antiquities of Cornwall. They feem both of the same die and value; but the impression differently corroded by time and use, may, by being exhibited in both, tend to their explanation. I can fay nothing decisive as to the symbols, but I conjecture, that on the convex side there is the rude figure of a ship with two masts, and the sails spread; on the convex seems a representation of the terraqueous globe, encompassed in the middle with a zone wavy, which divides the upper from the under hemisphere. In the upper hemisphere are placed the sun and moon, in the under the lesser luminaries. Fig. vii. and viii. are two different heads from any already published in plate xix. of the Antiquities of Cornwall: the faces are bold, and not inexpressive, turned different ways; the reverses are charged with horses and wheels in the same style as most of those already published. Fig. 1x. is not an ill fancied head; the diadem and its clasp very distinct and uniformly set, and the robing of the shoulder plain and indisputable. In the reverse, the body of the horse is remarkably slender; the engraver, as I apprehend, being more intent to express the expedition and swiftness, than the natural shape and proportion of the creature. The coins are of their real fize and shape. I have only to observe, that Bouteroue's coins of the ancient Gauls have neither the weight nor true shape expressed, 'because either worn with use, or covered or eaten with ruft,' as he tells us. Almost all, published by him of this kind have plain legends. They can give little aid therefore towards explaining this treasure of British antiquity found in Cornwall; but if one can make any certain conclusion from coins printed in such a manner, it must be that they were struck by a people well asquainted with the Greeks or Romans; they favour nothing of the antiquity, rudeness, and simplicity of those of Karnbre."(d) Such is Borlase's description of our Danmonian coins "Having now described (says our author) the Karn-bre coins, and produc'd some others which may in some measure explain them, let us consider to what nation these coins are to be ascrib'd. As soon as the Gold coins, above describ'd, were found at Karn-bre, and got into the hands of the curious, it was by many imagin'd that they were foreign coins, and some thought that they were Phenician. To this opinion the reverse, having generally a horse upon them, gave at first some countenance, some of the Phenician colo nies having choien that creature for their fymbol. The place where they were found feem'd to confirm this suspicion, Cornwall having been (from the first appearance of Britain in history) celebrated for its tin, which the Phenicians for many ages engross'd to them-felves by their superiour skill in navigation. The only thing, then, that remains to be done in order to determine them to be Phenician, or not, is to confront the coins found in Cornwall with those confessedly of Phenician original, and consider whether coins of the same style have not been found in other parts of this our isle where the Phenicians never traded. Now the Phenician legends will always be known by their letters, when they exceed the Roman conquest of Syria (for after that conquest they used either Greek or Roman characters on their coins); but there is not one character to be found in these our Cornish coins. The ancient symbol of the Syrophenicians was the palm-tree, sometimes the murex, and of their western colony, Hercules's pillars; but there is no such thing on our coins. The Lybiphenicians about Cyrene took, indeed, the horse for their fymbol; but this horse had either the whole palm-tree, or it's stalk standing by it, allu-

<sup>(</sup>a) Camden thinks, that tribute for woods was paid in such coin, and that tribute-monies had their impression from that destination. The reader may chuse which opinion he thinks most probable.

<sup>(</sup>b) Stafford. p. 394.
(c) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 258 to 263.

<sup>(</sup>d) Borlase's Nat. Hist. of Cornwall, p. 322, 323.

ding at once to their descent from the Syrians, and to the horse for which their own country, Africa, was always fo famous, and for the taming of which they were indebted to their principal god, Neptune. With respect to the Phenicians of Carthage, they had the head and neck of a horse for their symbol, alluding to the fable of their being commanded by Juno to build their city where a horse's head was dug up. (a) Cadiz had her Hercules, his temple, and his pillars; but all these were modern and well executed, and of them nothing is to be feen in the coins now before us, which are neither well executed, nor have any reference, or relation, to the palm-tree, murex, bust of the horse, Hercules, or his pillars. But one argument, which will still weigh more than the above, is this, that coining money, came so surprisingly late into use among the Phenicians, that fuch skilful artists as they, and their colonies were, could not coin such artless money as ours is. Of the Phenician coins, (certainly known to be fuch) there are none extant more ancient than the time of Alexander the Great; (b) fo modern are they that the Phenicians were many ages celebrated for their ingenuity and skill in other arts, before ever they coin'd money; and, besides, having borrow'd likely this art from the Grecians, (c) they cannot with any probability be supposed to coin money of so rude, and mean design as those of Karn-bre; arts among the Greeks being arrived, as we all know, to their fummit in the time of Alexander the Great: history forbids us, therefore, to attribute such coins as what are now under consideration, to so polite and cultivated a nation as the Phenicians. Lastly, that they were not brought hither by the trading Phenicians, seems to be plain, because they are found, not only in Cornwall, but in Wales, and most parts (d) of Britain where the Phenicians never came, their trade being confin'd to Cornwall, (e) and their business, tin. As these coins cannot be ascribed to the Phenicians, so neither to the Greeks nor Romans. That they are not of Roman workmanship, the first fight of them plainly shews, much less can we attribute them to the Greeks, whose medals are still superiour to the Roman in force and delicacy. (f) They must be either Gaulish, therefore, or British; for people must be very fanciful indeed (and extremely unwilling, or rather determin'd not to let their own country rights be impartially weigh'd) who will look out for a foreign father of these coms among the Spaniards, or Germans.(g) That they do in a few particulars resemble the Gaulish coins must be allow'd; and for this, very good reasons can be given, without admitting them to be Gaulish. In the mean time, I must observe, that Cæsar's seeming to assert, that the Britans had no money in his time, having made feveral learned men think that we had no coin'd money in Britain before the Roman invasion, (b) and others being of a different opinion, (i) I will take all the care I can that the veneration which I have for the latter, may neither lead me blindly into their opinion, nor the respect which I have for some of the others, make me suppress what I think to be right. The reasons must be weigh'd, the passage of Cæsar set in it's proper light, and the reader must determine, 'Utuntur aut æreo, aut taleis serreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.' (k) The Britans, says he, use either brass money, or iron tallies instead of money. This is the plain grammatical sense of Cæfar's words, and in Plantin's edition, the words run thus, 'Utuntur autem nummo œreo, aut annulis ferreis, &c. pro nummo; by which it is plain, that according to Cæfar, the Britans had the knowledge of money, and that in the place he is there speaking of, they had brass money; from whence it may be inferr'd, that the reason why they had not gold, and filver money there, as well as brafs, was not because they were ignorant of the use of it (for the use of gold and silver money is much greater and more obvious, and convenient for exchange or purchase, than that of brass) but because doubtless they had none of these metals, and therefore could not coin money of them.

(a) Æn. i. ver. 445. (b) Wife, pag. 217. (c) Ibid, pag. 218. (d) Several gold coins of the fame kind, and also a rough ruby were found not long ago in the Ifle of Shepey.' Letter from S. L.

(c) " By Cornwall here, as oftentimes elsewhere, I mean all that anciently went by that name, the fouth and western parts of Devonshire, as well as what is west of the Tamar." Borlase.

(f) Mr. Jobert, pag. 3. translated by Gale.
(g) N. Salmon, Nova Angliæ Lustratio, Lond. 1728, pag. 387, who thinks them coins belonging to the anciert Saxons.

(b) See Moreton's Northamptonshire, pag. 500. Walker in Camden, pag. CXIV.——See Mr. Wise's learned account of the Bodleian cabinet.

(i) Camden. Plot's Oxfordshire, chap. 10. The learned editor of Camden. Notes ibid. pag. 774ne late Mr. Ed. Lhuyd. ibid. (k) Cæs. Comm. lib. v. Jans. edit. pag. 92. The late Mr. Ed. Lhuyd. ibid.

but were oblig'd to be contented with coining the little brafs they had, and endeavour to remedy the scarceness of their brass coin, by iron tallies, or rings of a certain weight. Cæfar is evidently here speaking of the maritime parts, (a) in which they might well use iron instead of money; for iron was found, says he, 'in maritimis,' on the sea coasts: in the same place they had brass money, but their brass was imported, 'are utuntur importato;'(b) which argues, that the maritime coasts had no brass out of their own lands. Neither had they gold or filver in these parts, which is, doubtless, the reason that they did not coin any; for of the four kings, whom Cæfar mentions in Kent,-Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, we find not one coin which has any part of their name upon it; but this will by no means infer, but that the other petty kingdoms of the island, where these metals were, might have had gold and silver coins among them, altho' the other states, who had no such native treasures, might be without them; and that the other parts of this kingdom really had gold and filver coins, we shall soon find some very strong arguments to believe. It is plain, therefore, that what Cæsar says, related only to that little part of Britain, in which he pass'd the short time he stay'd in this island; all his whole account shews, that he pretended not to give any description of those inland parts which were at a distance from the seat of action; let us add to this, that if the Kentish men had any gold coin or treasure, they certainly took all the care imaginable to conceal it from Cæsar. But supposing that Cæsar had positively said that the Britans had no gold coins, or money among them; if by evidences, unknown to him, and fince his time discover'd, it should appear extremely probable at least, (if not as certain as things at this distance can be made) that they really had such coins; his authority must give way, he must be acknowledg'd to have been mis-inform'd, and the greater degree of probability must determine our judgment. There are several coins preserv'd and publish'd in Camden, and Speed, which have been thought to bear the names of British princes; and I may add, that they have other evidences of their belonging to this island. Let us examine them. The first coin produc'd by Speed (pag. 29.) is that of Com. the reverse inscrib'd, Rex; and is supposed by him, with great probability, to be the coin of Comius, king of the Atrebatii in Britain, companion to Julius Cæsar in his invasion. I will only make one remark upon the reverse, which is, that the horse here is of much too good a design to be among the first essays of the British coining, consequently the Britans must have had coins, before this, or they could never have made The next coin in Speed, is that of Caffibelan, this horse and rider so bold and shapely. which he read CAS; but Moreton in his Northamptonshire (pag. 500.) reads it SCOV; the occasion of which difference, is this: Moreton began with the S, goes on to the C, mistakes the wheel (one of the British symbols) over the horse's head for an O, and takes the A without its cross-stroke, (as it was anciently written) for a V; so that Moreton's objection to Speed's reading proceeds from his own mistakes, and he concludes too hastily, 'That the Britans had not the art of coining till they learn'd it of the Romans, and that they did not mark their coins with the names of princes till the time of Cunobelin.' Speed's reading, then, remaining unimpeach'd, we have here a coin of Cashbelan, who was general of the whole war against Julius Cæsar, and cannot be suppos'd to have learnt any art from the Romans, having been engag'd continually in all the alarms of war from the time that they landed to their departure. In the head, (c) (or the infcrib'd fide) the horse is much better turn d than in our Karnbre coins, and therefore later; for arts and sciences must have time to ripen in such retir'd and uncultivated places as Britain; their beginnings will be rude, and the progress of every art towards perfection will be flow and gradual, especially, where no fister arts have been practis'd, and therefore, can't lend their helping hand to forward and cherish that which is newly introduc'd. The reverse of this coin confirms the foregoing observation, the ornaments of it being a kind of fcroll-work, intermix'd with balls more uniformly dispos'd, and the whole better digested than our coins, and therefore later. Cunobelin's coin is later still than that of

(c) It must be remember'd, that one side of a medal is call'd the head, whether it has a face on it, or not, and the other side is call'd the reverse.

<sup>(</sup>a) As appears by the whole passage. "Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis, &c." And then he goes on with the account of the maritime parts, till he comes down to nummo; then he passes on to the inland parts. "Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, &c." (b) Ibid.

Cassibelan, and more elegant, the horse has shape and spirit; and there is something Roman in the turn of the head; (a) but there is great difference in the countenance of this king's coins; some are rude, and of coarse design, as Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 11. which may therefore be safely pronounc'd to be coin'd in his first years, either before his intimacy with the Romans, or before he could get the artists into the ready and masterly way of designing; so that it may be inferr'd from the coins of Cunobelin, that he did not learn, or first bring the art of coining from the Romans, but that having acquir'd some knowledge that way, he greatly improv'd this art. Even this king's coins have been disputed, and by some infinuated not to belong to the British king of this name, tho' his name be at full length upon four coins in Camd. tab. I. and upon three of the fame in Speed; fo that these scruples are apparently without foundation. The gold coin attributed to Caractacus by Camden and Speed, has the spica well plac'd on the reverse, and in the head the horse in full speed, as well design'd as possible, and therefore seems a close imitation of the Roman manner. That of Venutius has nothing British in it, but that the curls of the hair are form'd of many contiguous circular rings studded with balls, which is indeed in the British style. (b) Tho' the coins of Cunobelin were at last so greatly improv'd by approaching to the Roman manner; yet these improvements seem to have been confin'd to his own dominions, for the coin of Boadicea, queen of Verolamium, (if it be of her) has nothing Roman in it, but the letters BUDUO in the head; the reverse is of the same style as those found at Karn-bre.(c) The silver coin ascrib'd to Arviragus,(d) has the British wheel form'd by eight detach'd studs,(e) but the horse is too good to be ancient. The next coin attributed by Speed to Galgacus, (f) but by Mr. Walker (g) to Cartismandua, has nothing of our coins, but the wheel form'd like a large ring under the horse. (b) As to the word Tascia found on many of the coins above-mention'd, whether it fignifies the taxation, or tribute-money as Mr. Camden believ'd, or whether fuch coins of tribute were ever us'd, coins being the enfigns of liberty and power, not of flavery, as other learned men think, I do not here enquire, there being no such word on our Cornish coins. Let it suffice that here are several sorts of coins produc'd; we must next see whether we have not sufficient grounds to think them British, and yet, not the oldest of our British coins, and so trace up the art of coining among the Britans to its first simplicity, where we may possibly find reasons to place our coins of Karn-bre. Now, all these coins from Camden and Speed are found in Britain in several places, many in number, and the very same in no other country. (i) Their inscriptions, and several others which might here be mention'd, have either the first, or more syllables of the names of British princes, cities, or people, nay Cunobelin the whole name; why then should they not be British? (k) If there be honey enough in our own hive, what need have we to fly abroad, and range into the names of neighbouring countries and kings to find out refemblances in found, which are not near fo exact as what we find at home? Before we deprive our own country of the honour of coining the money found here, one would think it but reasonable that there should be produc'd from foreign countries, samples of the very coins we find in Britain, and in greater number, as being doubtless more plenty where they were struck, than any where else; but there is not one instance of any number of coins found abroad, which are of the same kind as what we find here; althoung Roman coins, (which were not coin'd by little particular states, as the British must have been) there is nothing more common. It is very wonderful that all the Gaulish coins, (for instance) correspondent to ours in metal and workmanship, should be destroy'd, and not one appear, or be dug up in Gaul, whereas in Britain they are numerous, which makes the learned Mr. Wife, though dubious at other times, conclude very justly, that

(a) See No. 8, 9, 10, in Speed, and 12, 13, p. 32.
(b) See the mane of the horse in No. XVIII. XVI. XIX. XXI. Venutius in Camden xiv. tab.

1. in Speed xv. pag. 34. (c) Camd. tab. 1. No. 8. Speed No. 16, p. 34.

(d) Speed No. 17. Camd. ib. No. 25. (e) As in No. XX. and XXII. (f) pag. 35, No. 18.

(g) Camden pag. cxv. (b) Other Brit. coins may be feen in Camden, and Speed, but these may be sufficient for our purpose. (i) See Camden, pag. 110.

(k) It is held by some that there were no gold coins coin'd in England till Edward III. but this is

probably a mistake, for in the Saxon and first Norman times vast sums were paid in gold. The annual tribute to be paid by the Welsh and Cornish to Athelstan, was 201. of gold, and 3001. in silver, besides other things. And in domesday, particularly, we find gold in ingots, contradistinguish'd from gold coin, viz. Libras auri ad persum.—Libras ad numerum.—Must we suppose that all this coin was of Bizants, or other foreign coin?

no country has a better title to the coining of them than Britain. (a) But, I don't know how it comes to pass, it is the unhappy fashion of our age to derive every thing curious and valuable, whether the works of art or nature, from foreign countries; as if providence had denied us both the genius and materials of art, and fent us every thing that was precious, comfortable, and convenient, at fecond hand only, and, as it were, by accident, from the charity of our neighbours. That the Britans had both gold and filver in their own country, is plain from Strabo and Tacitus; (b) and it is observed, to lately as Camden's time, that Cornwall produced both these precious metals; (c) and this is confirmed by the reversation of both those metals to the Duke of Cornwall in his grants to the tippers. Gold discovered here I have seen, found among tip grains in the parish to the tinners. Gold discover'd here I have seen, found among tin grains in the parish of Creed, near Granpont, in the year 1753; and both that, and native filver, the produce of a Cornish mine in the parish of St. Just, I have now in my keeping; and it must be allowed, that people, who have materials ready at hand, will take the first hint of anfwering their necessities therewith. That the inhabitants of Kent, and the adjoining countries, had brass money, Cæsar plainly afferts, as we have seen before, and when one part of the island had experienc'd the use of brass money, and knew the art of coining it, the neighbouring states must have had very little communication with one the other, or been very void of understanding, if they did not perceive the equal and superior convenience of gold and filver money, and for their own fakes procure it to be coin'd where-ever they enjoy'd the happiness of proper materials. And that the Britans had and us'd money coin'd at their own mint is really plain, because the Roman Emperours publish'd a fevere edict to suppress all such coins, and to forbid the use of any money in Britain, but what was stamped with the image of a Cæsar. (d) If it be insinuated that the Gauls brought over this money to traffick withal, this is a circumstance which wants to be provid, nay wants probability, for it could not have escapid Cæsar, and the gold coins must have been in greater plenty on the maritime coasts where he was, than in the inland parts, the merchants from Gaul coming to the sea-ports and coasts of Britain, and having nothing to do with the other parts of the island; (e) but Cæsar says, they us'd æreo nummo, and takes no notice of any gold coin in these parts, which I think may make us reasonably infer, that the Gauls did not bring over any gold coins for merchandize; much less still can it be imagin'd, that if the Gauls did bring over such coins, we should find them inscrib'd with names so like at least to the names of our princes and cities. If any of the same impression and legend with ours, found in many parts of Gaul can be produc'd, (which at present is far from the case) then let it be disputed whether the Gauls had these coins from us, or we from them, both sides standing upon even ground; but 'till then it is a great piece of partiality to foreigners, to deny the origin of these coins to our own country, and I am surprized to find my countrymen so sluctuating, and indifferent, not to fay careless, which way the beam may fall, in a point which concerns so much the history of medals in general, and affects the honour of their own country in particular." (f) "To settle the age of our Karn-bre coins is perhaps impossible, but that the Britans had and us'd coins of their own making, and that the Romans forbad the use of British money, has been observ'd before; for which prohibition there could be no reason if the Britans did not coin in a different manner from the Romans, therefore, this different manner of stamping their money, 'tis not so likely they should learn of the Romans, as that they had it before the Romans came; for after the conquest, the Romans, we find, infifted upon the head of Cæsar's being upon all their coins; therefore, that these Karnbre coins are prior to the Roman invasion is extremely probable. Further; both the Gauls and Britans being invaded nearly at the fame time, and by the same general; the first conquer'd, the other frighten'd; both of them would either have had some symbol of their subjection in their coins, if they had been struck under the direction of their conquerours,

(b) "Aurum et argentum fert Britannia." Strabo lib. iv.—" Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ." Tacit. vit. Agric. chap. 12.

<sup>(</sup>a) Maximo fane numero in hac infula eruuntur, adeo ut nulla regio possessionis jure magis eos (nummos) sibi vindicet." pag. 228.

<sup>(</sup>c) "Nec stannum vero hic solum reperitur sed una etiam aurum & argentum." Camd. in Cornw. (d) "Cautum suit Edicto Romanorum Imperatorum severo ne quis in Britannia nummis uteretur nisi signatis imaginibus Cæsarum."

<sup>(</sup>e) "Neque enim temere præter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque ils ipsis quidquam præter pram maritimam atque eas regiones quæ sunt contra Galliam notum est." Cæs. lib. iv. p. 76.

(f) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 247 to 254.

conquerours, or would have borrow'd at least somewhat more of the Roman elegance than what we find in the Cornish coins. The inscrib'd coins produc'd by Camden, and Speed, about the Julian age, confirm this conjecture, there being something of the Roman air, and regularity in all of them, but in ours nothing at all of that kind. There is one other use which I shall now make of the inscrib'd coins beforemention'd, and may contribute to fettle some particulars relating to the age of these Cornish coins; which is, that these inscrib'd coins could not be the first coins of the British mint, and consequently, that the rude uninfcrib'd money found in all parts of England are older than the infcrib'd, as favouring more of the beginning, and infancy of the art. The feries in which money was first introduc d, and arriv'd by degrees, to the Grecian and Roman perfection, seems to be this: first they weigh'd pieces of metal, then found out the way of impreffing them differently, according to their weights, and the quantity and fort of cattle they would be taken for in exchange; so as to save them the trouble of weighing; (a) then they impress'd symbols of religion, war, arts, and philosophy, peculiar to their country; then came in the heads of demi-gods, and princes; and then inscriptions, more certainly to determine, the age, works, and persons, signify'd by the coins. As foon as the Gauls, or any other barbarous nations saw the great use of money, as it was manag'd among the more polish'd parts of mankind, 'tis natural to imagine, that people of authority would endeavour to introduce the same convenient way of exchange among their own people; but being hasty, and impetuous, to have the thing done, were not over nice in the choice of artists for doing it. What first and principally struck them, was the use of money; to have the money coin'd with beauty and impression, was what had no place in their first conceptions, nor enter'd at all into their design; hence came the first coins so rude and inexpressive; because the art, tho' at full maturity among the Greeks and Romans, was forc'd to pass thro' a second infancy among the Gauls, and like the gold that was cast into the fire, could not come out a better molten calf than the hands, which were employ'd, were able to mould and fashion it. The money, therefore, coin'd at first among the Gauls and Britans, could not but partake of the barbarity and ignorance of the times, in which it first came into use, and the figures must have been much ruder, and more uncouth than those of the inscrib'd coins. Those coins then, which are not inscrib'd, are most probably older than those of the same nation which are inscrib'd; inscriptions, or legends, being a part of elegance, which at first was not at all attended to; but which, after-ages constantly practis'd, consulting at once the conveniency of their commerce, and the glory of their country. If this inference is right, our coins at Karn-bre, and the like sort in Plot, and Camden's English edition, are older than the inscrib'd ones produc'd by Camden and Speed, and consequently older than the Roman invasion." (b) Now, it is really surprizing, that after having so minutely examined these coins, and so clearly determined their antiquity, Dr. Borlase should have fropt short in this place; without the slightest suspicion of a probability which their approach is the state of pearance hath very strongly suggested to me. That these very curious coins were British, and that they existed before the Roman invasion, hath been proved beyond a doubt. But we have as good reason to suspect that such coins were also prior to any voyage of the Phenicians to this island, whether trading or colonial. And having looked so far into antiquity, another glance will easily carry us to the period of the first peopling of the ssland. That the Danmonians were a people from the east, I have mentioned as a very probable opinion: And that these coins were, also, of eastern origin, may be concluded from several circumstances. In the first place, they were found in the country of the Danmonians, who were confessedly more like the eastern nations than any other race of people in this island. In the next place, they were found on Karnbre, in the middle of the ridge of Karnbre-bill—the confecrated mountain of the Druids. Karnbre, indeed, was the most remarkable place of the Druid worship in all Danmonium. It is possible, then, that these coins have some relation to the Druids. That they resemble the coins of the east, is evident from the very face of them. Many of the coins of India, at this present day, particularly the rupee, are nearly of the same size and sigure: And, what is indeed a very firsking resemblance, their symbols are exactly similar to those with which our British **fpecimens** 

<sup>(</sup>a) The first money us'd in Rome was of plain copper, without any impression till the time of Servius Tullus, who caus'd them first to be stamp'd with the image of an ox, a theep, a hog, whence it began to be call'd pecunia a pecude. Pliny.—Jobert's Medals, Engl. p. 35.

(b) Borlase's Antiquities, p. 256 to 258.

specimens are charged: In the mean time, we are assured, that these figures on the Indian coins are of great antiquity. The little round studs, or button-like embossiments, which I have described, are the same on the rupee. Nor should I forget to mention, that the convexity of these coins is another point of similarity. And as to their quality, both the British and the Indian are of pure gold, with little or no allay. Several of the ornamental figures are of a military cast—others of a religious. The trees are, probably, the oaks of the Druids: And the globular appearances are, possibly, representations of the sun and other luminaries—the great objects of worship among the people of the east. (a)

That Phenician and Greek coins have been found in Devonshire, I have been often

informed; though I have not been fortunate enough to meet with such specimens. (b)

Thus have I presented my readers with a description of the Danmonian commerce, shipping, and coins, from the very earliest times to the period of Cæsar's invasion. In some instances, perhaps, I have entered too much into detail; in others, have been too much on the wing. But whilft I have endeavoured, in every instance, to exhibit clear views, I have feldom detained my readers long, except where the points were curious; or rapidly led them from one topic to another, except where there was little matter for entertainment.

## SECTION

VIEW of the LANGUAGE and LEARNING of the DANMONIANS, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

1. The Danmonian or British Tongue, in its first stage—its affinity to the Irish and the Erse -Words, Compositions-The British, the Irish, and the Erse, immediately derived from the East—The Danmonian Language, in its second stage; or the British-Phenician—Words, Compositions—The Danmonian Language, in its third stage, as enriched by the Greek—The Danmonian Language in its fourth stage, as corrupted by the Belgic—Under these modifications, the Danmonian Tongue entitled Cornubritish.—II. The Sciences and the Arts of the Danmonians .- III. Seminaries of Learning in Danmonium-Conclusion.

THE general state of knowledge, at this obscure period, is a subject rather hypothetical than historical: The language, and the learning, however, of Danmonium, may afford room for curious investigation. The Danmonians have been represented by some authors, as a very rude people, yet possessing minds, like other savages, lively and vigorous, and capable of cultivation. But, whilst we are assured that a very large body of men were maintained at the public expence, in considerable splendor, for the purpose of differinating knowledge, we shall not, perhaps, be disposed to credit all the accounts of Danmonian ignorance and barbarity. That the Druids were skilled in various learning, is evident from the attestation of the Greeks and Romans. And the learning of this venerable priesthood, must, undoubtedly, have influenced the great mass of the people.

The language of Danmonium feems to be the first object for consideration. It hath been commonly believed, that the original language of the Britons, was the same as that of the Gauls; though few have properly discriminated between the south-western Britons, and the other inhabitants of the island. The ancient names of persons and places in Britain

(a) It should feem from the obscure notices of ancient writers, relating to the British exports and imports, that the first trade of the island was carried on without the affistance of money, and in the course of a regular exchange. But the gold coins of Karnbre (to throw nothing else into the scale) are fufficient to outweigh this opinion an opinion fo light, that it must fly up, and kick the beam !

(b) Several Phenician coins, I understand, were dug up, some years since, at Teignmouth; whence the inhabitants conclude, that this place was frequented by Phenician merchants. One of these coins was casually inspected by the Rev. John Templer, of Lindridge, who regrets that he has now lost every trace of it. Had Mr. Templer been able to procure the coin, I should, doubtless, have been gratified with a fight of it; fince there is no gentleman in the county more fanguine than himself in wishing success to a History of Devon. To his various knowledge, indeed, I am obliged for most effential information: And, whilst I am pleased with his politeness, I cannot but admire his ingenuity.—I have heard, also, a vague report, that Phenician or British coins were found, at Exeter, a few years ago: But my enquiries for these coins have been, hitherto, fruitless. Britain and Gaul, we are told, have an exact refemblance. This, however, is a mistaken notion. Not even the name of the aboriginal Britons was known in Europe. The numerous tribes or nations on the continent, who extended themselves gradually into this island, from various causes, carried with them, as was most natural, the names of their nations or tribes—such as were known afterwards to the Romans in Gaul and in Germany, by the Armorici, Belgæ, Brigantes, Allobroges, Iceni, and Morini: But annong all the nations settled on the continent, or afterwards fixing themselves in Britain, there never was once heard of such a name as the Danmonii, or the people of Danmon. Nor was such a name as Caernou ever known in Europe: And no one can point out, I believe, in what part of the continent of Europe, any tribes of that name have settled, or were settled in those times, when the Phenicians sirst traded with the Aborigines of our island. (a) The few who give credit to the Saxon Chronicle, with respect to the settlement of the first colonists in the South-Hams, are of opinion, that one district there retains to this day some traces of their origin; and, consequently, may throw light on their language: It is the district of Armine, the very name of the country whence the Saxon Chronicle derives them. If we pass from the name of the nation (b) to that of their priesthood, from what European root can we fatisfactorily derive the word Druid It clearly comes from Darui or Drui, still current in the east, and signifying a priess or magician. Sir William Jones describing the great empire of Iran, tells us, that the origin of the language of this Empire was Chaldaic; (c) as proved by the words Shemia, heaven; Meya, water; Firà, fire; Matrà, rain; Wertà, a rose: And the word Drui, a magician, is also of Chaldaic origin.

But, in order to prove that the aboriginal language of Danmonium was derived from the east, let us recur to Ireland and Scotland. That the British, the Irish, and the Erse, are to be traced to one fountain, is universally allowed. In truth, they are known to be dialects of the same language. This is a fact which has never been disputed. If, then, we can clearly deduce, either the Irish or the Erse from the east, we shall establish the ORIENTAL ORIGIN of the British or Danmonian language. (d) That there was an eastern colony in Ireland, is evinced by the great affinity of the old Irish with the language of Hindostan, which is derived from the Chaldaic. Sir William Jones, and Col. Vallancey, have presented us with long lists of corresponding words, from the Hindostanic and the Irish languages. Sir William, as I have observed, describes an eastern empire by the name of Iran: And Eirin is the ancient name of Ireland. And "unless (says Col. Vallancey) there had been the closest connexion between the original inhabitants of Eirin or Ireland, and those of ancient Iran, it would have been impossible, that so great an

affinity

(b) The name of one of our rivers, Columb or Columba, is fynonymous with the Chaldaic IONA. And in COLUMB-JOHN or COLUMB-ION (so denominated from the river) we have the Chaldaic

word itself.

(d) And consequently prove the ORIENTAL ORIGIN of the Danmonians.

<sup>(</sup>a) A learned correspondent observes: "The Autoxobores of the island settled chiefly in the west, and south-west, with whom the Greeks, and, before the Greeks, the Phoenicians, maintained, at least, a commercial intercourse: And of both these people, some tokens yet remain in and about here, such as xeiou perunov, or the Rambead; Tolonon, now Totnes, from the Greeks; and the Promontory of Astarte, now the Start Point, from the Phenicians. But who these Aborigines were, with whom the Greeks and Phenicians thus traded, is the question: They certainly did not come from the continent of Europe; and, probably, came from the east: They were known by the name of the people of (1)Dan mon, and afterwards called Druids; though this was rather an appellation given to their priests; and the word signifies, in the eastern language, a soothsayer or wise man. Who they were, would take a volume to explain—what they were, is very concisely described by Julius Cæsar, in his account of Britain, and by Strabo. They, probably, came to Britain not long after the dispersion, when the Scoti came to Ireland and Scotland. The Irish were certainly Baelim, as all their customs and language evince. I should think the Aborigines of Britain were also of the Cutbite race, though not of the tribe of Baal."

<sup>(</sup>c) Rowlands, in his Mona Antiqua Restaurata, is of opinion, that the people at first spread over Great Britain and Ireland, and the adjacent islands, were not more than five descents from Noah. With this view, he endeavours to shew, that our language is one of the primary vocal modes produced among the builders of Babel.

<sup>(1)</sup> Why did Dan remain in ships? Judges v. 17. "The spirit moved him in the camp of Dan." Judges xiii. 25. "The snorting of horses was heard from Dan." Jer. viii. 16. "Dan and Javan occupied in thy fairs, &c." Ezek. xxvii. 18.

affinity could exist between the languages of the old Irish and the Sanscrit. In the mythology of the Bramins, Syon is the goddess of sleep—her festival is kept on the 11th day of the new moon in June—she is fabled to sleep for four months; to signify that the rainy season setting in for four months, the care of Bistnoo, the preserver, is suspended as immaterial, the rain securing their crops of grain. All this is an equivocation on the two Irish words Suan and Soinion, or mor-soinion: the first signifies sound sleep, the second great rain and tempest: and this again reverts to the Chaldean Marhason, a season so called because of the great rains, i. e. October. Again, Lukee is their goddess of all kinds of grain: her festival is kept in the month of August. Unnunto the unknown (god)—is in Irish, anaihinte. Kartik, the consecrated—Irish, Creatach.—Sieb, the destroyer (death)—Irish, Sab and Saib. And Ogham (as it will soon appear) is equally a Sanscrit and an Irish word. (a) With respect to the word logan (in use, at this moment, in Devonshire, as well as Ireland) Vallancey makes these remarks. "Had Dr. Borlase been acquainted with

Sanscrit. Irifb. S Budh, the world and its creator (a) Budh-dha Supreme Being Buaidh, supreme, virtue, divine attribute Crishna Apollo Crishean, the sun Gapia Mufes Gube Syon God of Sleep Suan Suria Phœbus Soire Baroon Neptune Braine Kefee Evil Spirit Kife-al A facrifice Beart &c. &c. &c.

Col. Vallancey refers us, also, to the ancient Language of Ægypt, which is strikingly similar to the Irish. "If an affinity of language (says he) be admitted as a criterion of the truth of the Irish history, and of the ancient Irish being descended from those Scythians who had conquered Egypt, and thither carried their language, arts and sciences; there cannot be a stronger proof than the following list of words common to both. The Egyptian language is certainly one of the most ancient in the world, and in all probability an original or mother tongue, formed at the consustion of Babel—It is in a great measure preserved to our times in the present Coptic: Its structure and constitution, differ so widely from all the Oriental and European languages, that it is impossible to conceive it derived from any of them. (1) These words are taken from the Nomenclatura Egypto-Arabica, published by Kircher, and from the Coptic Lexicon of the learned Dr. Woide.

Egyptiacè. Hibernice. Lat. ath, partic. neg. ath, ut in ath rioghadh aiai, adaustio al, lapis ail amoi, utinam mai liom, apud me amre, princeps amre, piftor amra an, partic. neg. an ani, pulchritudo an anoni, luxuria ana aoun, res molesta onn aouo, pignus urra aouon, aperire uinneog, parva apertio. fenefira arch, servus aire areghj, terminus earrach aghjan, fine ariki, querela afo, indulgentia aireac feas boloid, indulgentia, absolution as ebol, indulgere, ad, præpos. neg. ead bel, folutio easboloid, absolution bol ebol, mitigara ban, fædus bann bots, bellum buathas, victoria ouoi, persona

adoouis

with the Irish MSS. He would have found that the logan-stone, which yet retains its name in the west of England, and as he confesses, is not to be explained in that or the Welsh

Egyp. Lat. adooui, mane ash, crucifigere ashai, multitudo ashi, pendere baki, urbs bari, novicula bashi, vacca besnid, ærarius bél, aqua bel-ebol, liquescere besh, nudus bir, sporta bighji, naufragium bok, fervus boki, ancilla gallou, vespertilio ebol, tam seorsim eioul, cervus emi, scientia, cognitio mok mek, studium dod, manus erous, responsio dom, adbærere erfei, templum erto, cubitus ershon, vestis efie, elati, superbi eimine, meine, signum ermeine, signare timeini, oftendere eida, pascha ephleou, vanitas enouoi, currus esho, supra ehrei, supra tiehrei, nobilis, protector eghjeou, navis thaibes, victoria thal, collis thelel, occidis thas, fimilitudo thoud, turbam cogere thou, ventus
thoud, congregare thod, vinum aqua mixtum, miscere

thos, finis, terminus
thems, fepelire
iten, terra
ibi, fitire
ioh, ioch, luna
iot, bordeum
piich, dæmon
kadmis, morus Egyptiaca
kaldas, fanctitas
kame, niger
kelghje, angulus
kadhed, prudens
kas, frangere

Hib. ar doi aish, punitio eis ais bocan, domus boctain, ædisicium baris bois-ceil, vacca sylvestris, ceile, sylva bés, pecunia œraria } bial buas barr, bearra, beart bach, long-bach, long, navis beac, buacal beac-arna gallun, passer ar abol eamh, eamhainsi eamanmaca, schola, collegium dod ar, respondit dom-lac, i.e. baine claba, lac coagulatum aifrion ortog, pollux, parvus cubitus earafaid eas, easlabra, werba superba mionn, signum, litera tiomna, testamentum tiomana, tradere iod, an-iod, an, partic. feilios naoi, navis uas, os ar tria uige, uigh-inge, classis taibh, tabh real, laurus victorie tul teal-mac, paricidus tais tuidme, turba, conspiratio tua, boreas, doi, ventus teide, congregatio, nundinæ mercatorum toide, aqua vitæ, aqua mixta, Anglice toddy, toid doid, prædiolium commixtum, a joint farm tus teim, mors ith ibh, potus eag ith, triticum pocan unde Cadmus keildei, ceildei sanetus cama kealg

keadfaoi, prudentia

kat,

keas

Welsh dialect, is the Irish Logh-onn or stone, into which the logh, or divine essence, was said to descend, when the Druids consulted it as an oracle." But it was pretended, that the

Egyp. Lat.
kat, intellectus
kel kil, tintinabulum
loghj, ceffare
ma, da, date
met, negativa
maniak-espe, torques
mokh, afflictio
nebi, natare
neph, nauta
néb, dominus
pi-mounhou, regio, pi est art.

las, pilas, lingua chukon, natura ooch, luna, domina maris ke, etiam lemne, portus maritimus

tomi, villa rouchi, nox, vesper sobi, esobi, sancti nead, regio a quo ventus spirat niphoui, cælum niat. intelligentia os, multus oeish, tempus nout, Deus ouro, rex onoini, cithara outouet, viriditas ohi, grex rako, adscribere ran, placere rad, t'rad, pes rash, metiri reim, indigena, incola remnakat, intellectu præditus res, auster re, Sol red, rod, oriri

re, facere
red, idea, species
ribe, linter nauticus
rokh, incendium
sabe, sapiens, sbo, dostrina
sai, plenitudo
sad, projicere
sack, scriba, sachnbad,

Hib.
keacht, intelligentia
keol, keolin
leig
mai, mai dhuin, da nobis
mith
muinke
muc
naoib, navis

naobh, naomh muhan, ut deas-muhan, regio australis. Defmond. tua muhan, regio borealis. Thomond. oir muhan, regio orientalis. Ormond. iar muhan, regio occidentalis

lis caichne, caine eag keo

Luimneach, vel Limerick, portus maritimus in Hibernia, i. e. Laimri-oike, juxta aquam (urbs) velvegio juxta aquam.(1)

tuam
reagh, nox
Sob-sgèul bistoria saneta, sgèul bistoria
neid, wentus
neamh. Tibetanici, neam
nath, scientia
os
aos

nodh, fupremus, nobilifimus aire princeps, Arab. har aine uatat, uathath aoi, grex, aoire, paftor racam, feribere roinim troid reis, fpathalma reim oilerac, indigena

reis, septentrio
1ê, Luna
rad, horîzon, rad a dearglus, Aurora, i. e. oriens luminis rubicundi
re. fastus

re, factus
reit
rab, remus
rog, pyrus
foib
fai
faidoir, projector fagittarum
fach, scribere

Lierophantis, antiquum nomen Egyptiacum, Græcè ιέςογςαμματεώς respondens, videtur suisse Sach, quomodo in versione librorum scripturæ Coptica, semper reddetur γςαμματέυς, Scriba. Scripturæ peritus Linguæ Egyptiorum nabad designatur νοημων i. e. sapiens, intellectu pollens: dicuntur initiature.

reimnacht

<sup>(1)</sup> Lamon, lomon, lomne, lemne, are original words for a large body of water. Hence our Lemmon and Loman, rivers in Devonshire.

Vol. I.

the divinity communicated motion to this stone; whence the people of Devon use logan as fynonymous with moving.

In

Sethir

igitur iegoveauuates qui essent, ut loquitur Julius Firmicus, Sacrarum literarum periti, i. e. fachnabat (Jablonsky. Pant. Egypt. Prolegom. p. xciv.)-Hibernice Seach-nab.

Egyp. fchai, litera fe, tertia persona feini, medicus foli, velum muliebre

dako, perire

damo, oftendere feth, potens, validus

deu, ventus phachairi, veneficus phette, arcus cælestis phro, byems pheriou, Splendidus pholph, verberare phoir, somnium phorgh, divisio phodh, sculptura oik, panis op, fors

shai, nasus fai, festum, faire, festivitas

fhad, Secare the, lignum sheebol, exire theri, filius, filia

shligh, culter

ihiai, extensio shala, triftis shiol, gens, natio fine, rete shok, fodere shot, durus shom, aftas eh an shom, ver, initium æstatis

phikohi, cylindrus textoris phos, multus esse phota, anus, podes chello, senex chellod, vallis ched-ched, investigare cheibi, tegmen chok, militare chem chem, confilium hel, halai, volare fihap, judicare chesh, cruciare hli, aliquis hop, chop, nuptiæ hra, chra, facies hob, opus hot, navigare hot, oportet

ghal, deponere apud aliquem

scè, libellus, scè na geug, litera ramorum

feanam, medicare

feol

deag, mors oide, præceptor, dam-oide, magister

faoth, bomo generofus, validus, literatus. fethreach, bomo validus. Sith-be, dux

dea pocaire

feite

fuar, frigidus

forai na grian, ortus solis

bual foir fairke foda óg. panis upta

fai-run, nasus, run, facies

saoire, la saoire, dies festivitatis, seire, festum, pran-

dium fadoir

fae, lignum, faor, carpentarius, i. e. tabricator ligni

**shuibhal** 

shar, filius, shean shior, filius natu maximus, shear-

each, filius equi

fleigh

shi, unde shinim, facere extensionem

falach fiol shén, sén foc, culter

sheod, adamanthus

famh, sol, famra, æstas famh fuinn, sinis æstatis, autumnus, ear an samh, ver, initium æstatis

figheach, unde fighim, texare, fighedoir, textor

fos

putog, rectum cailleach calladh

cead, judex caban, domus (anglice cabin)

coga, bellum

feim-loir, conciliarius

eol-air, accipiter, ealan, cygnus, eit-ile, volatus

seibti, qui judicat, judex .

ceafam eile coib, dos cru obar

cot, barca navis

cait-fe geall, pignus In the mean time, the Erse tongue differs so little from the Irish, that their common origin is plain: They are both equally derived from the east. That the British language, therefore, from its allowed affinity to both, is, also, oriental, seems to be a fair induction.

But we have, hitherto, examined the British, the Irish, and the Erse as oral only: They should be considered, also, as written. Let us enquire in what characters these island dialects of the great Asiatic language were exprest, and whether any vestiges of such characters are traceable, at present, in Danmonium, in Ireland, or in Scotland.

With respect to the Danmonian characters, I have already had occasion to remark, that the Druids were not averse from committing their thoughts to writing; as is generally supposed. Not that in matters of religious or political concern, they used a character which was intelligible to the vulgar. Like the priests of India, they had, doubtless, their fecret letters, which the common people regarded as mysterious. Cæsar tells us (in a passage on which I have already commented) that the Druids "publicis privatifque rationibus [GRÆCIS] LITERIS utantur."(a) Here the word Græcis, in the opinion of the commentators in general, is supposititious. A learned antiquary makes the following remark on this passage. "We have said just now that the order of the Druids was prior to the existence of the Greek word  $\Delta \xi \tilde{v}s$ ; and yet some persons will be apt to infer, from this last fentence of Casar, that they both spoke and wrote the language. But we must not conclude from this place, (see Camden's Britannia, p. xiv.) that they had any knowledge of the Greek tongue. For Cæfar himself, when he wrote to Quintus Cicero, (besieged at that time somewhere among the Nervians) penned his letter in Greek, less it should be intercepted, and fo give intelligence to the enemy-which had been but a poor project, if the Druids (who were the great ministers of state, as well as of religion) had been masters of the language. The learned Selden is of opinion, that the word Gracis has crept into the copies, and is no part of the original. Hottoman and D. Vossius also reject it. And it was natural enough for Casar, in his observations on the difference between the management of their discipline and their other affairs, to say in general, that in one they made use of letters, and not in the other, without specifying any particulars. But if any man is of opinion that a word should be retained in this place, the emendation of Sam. Petit is very ingenious, that we should read CRASSIS instead of gracis-though not for the reason which he gives, because he conceived them to be rudely formed, and not equal to the elegance of the Greek and Roman characters; but because they were the thick square letters which themselves had introduced from the east." I have already noticed some monumental pillars in Danmonium, which, possibly, may be relics of Druidism, inscribed with these oriental letters. That such existed in Danmonium, there can be little doubt. And the characters which Sir William Jones mentions as discovered on the walls of the

Egyp. Lat. gho, annunciare ghaph, hyems ghin, actio ghinnau, vifus ghoi, navis ghiphe, possidere ghro, victoria slak, supplicium gratia, religio

Hib.
goch-aire, magister ceremonalium
gamh-ra
ghnim, agere
gni
uige
gabh
cro
sleacht, adoratio
garait, sanctus

The Nomenclator in Egyptian and Arabic, whence most of these words are taken, is often quoted by the learned Dr. Woide, in his Coptic Dictionary. It was found by Petrus a Valle, in the year 1615, near Grand Cairo, in the hands of some peasants, who knew not its value. Peter transmitted it to Rome, where Kircher sound it, and published it with a Latin translation. It contains, by Peter's account, many old Egyptian words, sacred and prosane, now grown obsolete to the Egyptians themselves: But he can form no idea when it was compiled. It is a most valuable monument of antiquity. For, we know as little of the Egyptian dialect, as we do of their literary characters, as Count Caylus observes. (1) Before the beginning of this century, we were acquainted only with the Hieroglyphic. Since that period, many inscriptions have been found on the bandages of very ancient mummies, written in a running band, or common character. One of considerable length has been engraved by the Count. The original is in the library of St. Geneveue at Paris, where I was indulged with the perusal of it."

(a) lib. vi. sect. 13.

<sup>(1)</sup> Antiquities, v. 1. p. 69.

ruined palace of Jemschid, correspond with the crassis literis of Cæsar.—But let us return

to Ireland.

The Ogham writing of the ancient Irish, was, probably, the same as that of the Danmonian Druids. Colonel Vallancey has illustrated this point with his wonted learning and ingenuity. "The word Ogham in Irish, taken in a general sense, says Vallancey, fignifies whatever is facred, mysterious and sublime; purity of diction, eloquence; but is particularly applied to facred and mysterious writings. Toland says, the word originally meant, the fecret of letters, and from fignifying the fecret of writing, it came to fignify fecret writing. But Ogham or Oghma certainly fignified learning, eloquence, fublimity of stile in composition. Hence it became a proper name, in Irish, as Ogma Grianan, who was one of the first of the Chaldean race. As a character, it was never used but in facred writings, unless in an epitaph for the deceased, by permission of the Magi or Druids. From its uniform combination of straight lines, many have thought it was the same as the unknown characters of *Persepolis*. And the Persepolitan characters, in the opinion of the learned Millius, were facred and mysterious. 'Cum Zoroastres placita sua coriis mandata, Persarum regi Gushtasp tradidisset, illa certo loco inclusit, eique sacerdotes præfecit, prohibens, ne hæc facra vulgo manifestarent : quare etiam sacerdotum Persarum cultui divino vacantium labia, linteo velata erant. Qui, de hodierno statu Persiæ atque religione, scripserunt, idem referunt. Quid, quod inscriptiones Persepolitanæ, quæ adeo eruditos excruciaverunt, notæ quædam Hieroglyphicæ esse videntur, quibus Zoroastres, qui prope Persepolin cultum symbolicum condiderat, aliique Magi, præcipua cultus sui capita, profanum vulgus celare studebant.' (a) That learned Orientalist Sir William Jones (who, from his knowledge in the Sanscrit, has been admitted into the order of the Bramins) in a late discourse to the Academy of Calcutta, adverts to the word Ogham. He proves it to be a pure Sanferit word, meaning the facred or mysterious writings or language, and used in that fignification, in the books of the Sanscrit: He also observes, that the Sanscrit language, older than the Hindu, was the language of Iran, and of pure Chaldaic origin. He applies the use of this word Ogham, and the ancient traditions of the IRISH, together with the authority of the Saxon Chronicle, to prove that these islands were first peopled by colonies from Iran, and that their language, their customs, and their religion, were the same both in these islands, in Iran, and in Hindostan-but-all originating in Chaldea.(b)"

After this examination of the primitive language of Danmonium, both as an oral and a vuritten language, we might naturally enquire, in what points it resembles its eastern original. There are some authors who inform us, that like the Chaldaic, it is energetic

and fonorous. Its phraseology is pompous: Its style metaphorical.  $(\epsilon)$ 

Of

(a) Oratio de fabulis Orientalium, p. 77.

(b) "Iran and Iouran, the country of the Perfians, and of the Turks. Perfia and Oriental Turkey -applied by eastern historians to signify all upper Asia, India and China excepted." (Herbelot)—But the ancient Iran, I believe, was of greater extent. Sir William Jones, in the discourse above mentioned, proves from the books of the Bramins, the existence of a first great empire (before the Asfyrian) which he calls by the name of the kingdom of Iran; whence, he fays, a colony emigrated

to Hindostan. (c) The feveral proverbs in the Cornish language, that have been transmitted to us, all savour of truth—some of pointed wit—some of deep wisdom. Take the following as specimens of the eastern manner: Neb na gare y ground coll restona; He that heeds not gain, must expect loss. Neb na gare y gy, an gwra deveeder; He that regards not his dog, will make him a choak sheep. Guel yro gnetha vel goofen; It is better to keep than to beg. Gurada, rag ta honan te yn gura; Do good, for thyself thou dost it. Tau tawas; Be silent, tongue. Cows nebas, cows da, ha da weth cowssas arta; Speak little, speak well, and well will be spoken again. Cows nebas, cows da, nebas an yeurn you an gwella; Speak little, speak well, little of public matters is best. Nyn ges gun heb lagas, na kei heb Govern; There is no downs without eye, nor hedge without ears. (1)

Der taklow minniz ew brez teez gonvethes, By small things are the minds of men discovered, avelen taklow broaz: dreffen en tacklow broaz, as well as by great matters: because in great things, ma an gymennow hetha go honnen; bus en tack-low minis, ema an gye suyah hâz go honnen. they will firetch themselves; but in small matters, they follow their own nature.

Gwra,

Of compositions in the Danmonian language, at this early stage of it, we might vainly search for any extensive relic, at this hour: Nor will the Irish or Erse present us with a single literary work of such high antiquity. There are, however, some Druidical verses extant. The Druids, after the manner of the Chaldeans and Ægyptians, delivered their instructions in verse. And the oldest kind of British verse has been called by the Welsh grammarians Englyn Milur-of which the following is a specimen:

An lavar kôth yu lavar guîr, Bedh durn rêver, dhan tavaz rê hîr; Mez dên heb davaz a gallaz i dîr. What's faid of old, will always stand; Too long a tongue, too fhort a hand; But he that had no tongue lost his land. (a)

We

Gwra, O Mateyne, a tacklow ma, gen an I gwella krêvder, el boaz pideeres an marudgyan a go terman; ha an tacklow a vedn gwaynia klôs theez rag nevera.

Po rez deberra an bez, vidn heerath a seu; po res dal an vor, na oren pan a tu, Thuryan, houl Zethas, go Gleth, po Dihow.

An beys yu cales kylden; The world is an hard carawanfera. Deu ruth ros flour hy hynfe; God made

Do, O King, those things which, with the best strength, may be thought the wonders of their time; and those things will gain glory to thee for ever.

When thou comest into the world, length of forrow follows; when thou beginnest the way, 'tis not known which side, East, West, to the North, or South.

a rose-flower of thy sex.

(a) "The Druids couched their morality in triambics of rhyme, the better to imprint them upon the memory. They were above all things careful to inculcate taciturnity or fecrefy into their difciples, that their doctrines might not become vulgar, and to fecure to themselves, as much as might be, the credit of learning and wisdom. Their verses were filled with strong images of nature, after the Oriental manner; always concluding with fome wife fentence founded upon long experience. And to these, in all probability, we are indebted for most of the proverbial expressions now in use. The following were collected and committed to writing by Lhowarch Hen, a Prince of Cumberland, who lived in the year 500, and are purely Venedotian, or the British of North Wales. For the' the Druids wrote nothing of this fort, yet the ancient Christians who succeeded them, did, and were careful of preserving what was good and laudable. They are inserted by Mr. Rowlands, in his truly valuable work of the Mona Antiqua, but without any translation; nor does it appear by his remarks that they were fufficiently understood by that (otherwise) very learned author. Two very worthy gentlemen, well verfed in the language, have been confulted concerning the meaning of them; whose literal sense of them is given below. But we cannot be of opinion, with those gentlemen, that the first two lines of each triambic were never designed to have any connection with the third, but were intended merely to furnish rhyme to it: Because, supposing the three first triambics to allude to the corrective discipline of the Druids, which cannot well be doubted, the connection is easy; and there is as much of it in these and the three last, as the oriental poets generally furnish.

DRUIDICAL VERSES.

Marchweil Bedw briclas A dyn vynhroet o wanas, Nac addev dy rin i was.

II.

Marchweil derw mwynllwyn, A dyn vynhroet o Gatwyn, Nac addev dy rin i vorwyn.

Marchweil derw deiliar, A dyn vynhroet o garchar, Nac addev dy rin i lavar.

Eyri mynydd, Húdd efcyt, Odyd amdidawr o'r byt, Rhybydd i drwch ni weryt.

Eyri mynydd, pisc yn rhyt, Cyrchyt karw kilgrwm cwmclyt, Hiraeth am varw ni weryt.

LITERAL SENSE.

Strong rods of green birch Will draw my foot out of the hold: Reveal not thy fecret to a youth.

Strong rods of oak in a grove Will draw my foot out of the chain: Reveal no fecret to a maid.

III.

Strong rods of leafy oak Will draw my foot out of prison: Reveal not thy fecret to a blab.

IV.

Mountain fnow, fwift deer, Scarce any in the world cares for me: Warning to the unlucky faveth not.

Mountain fnow, fish in a ford, The lean stag feeks the warm vale: A longing for death fayeth not.

VI. Eyri

We have also some Druidical verses concerning the "Fatal-stone, call'd so, as suppos'd to contain the fate of the Irish Royal Family. On this the supreme Kings of Ireland used to be inaugurated on the hill of Tarah, and the ancient Irish had a persuasion, that in what country foever this stone remain'd, there one of their blood was to reign. (a)" The fatal-stone was enclosed in a wooden chair, and thought to emit a found under the right-ful king, but to be mute under one of a bad title. The Druid Oracle concerning it is in these words:

" Cioniodh scuit faor an fine Man ha breag an Fais dine Mar a bh fuighid an Lia fail Dlighid flaitheas do ghabhail. Except old faws do feign, And wizard wits be blind, The Scots in place must reign, Where they this stone shall find. (b)"

In the Erse language, the poems of Ossian, though the product of a much later age, are deeply tinctured with the oriental genins. The following passages will give us a fine relish of the eastern manner. This address to the moon has an uncommon obscurity of allusion: "Whither dost thou retire from thy course, when the darkness of thy countenance grows? Hast thou thy hall, like Offian? Dwellest thou in the shadow of grief?

## DRUIDICAL VERSES. VI.

Eyri mynydd, gwint ae tawl, Llydan lloergan, glass tavawl, Odyd dyn diried dihawl. LITERAL SENSE. VI.

Mountain fnow the wind will difzerfe, Broad the splendent moon, the dock is green: Scarce a knave will want a pretext.

Descrip. of Stonehenge, &c. p. 64, 65, 66. (a) "This stone was sent into Scotland, where it continued as the coronation seat of the Scottist kings; till in the year 1300, Edward the First of England, brought it from Scone, placing it under the coronation chair at Westminster. The Irish pretend to have memoirs concerning it for above 2000 years." Tol. p. 103.

(b) "After the example of the antients, (the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Affyrians) the Druids compriz'd all the particulars of their religion, and morality in hymns, the number of which, as Mr. Martine(1) fays, was fo great that the verses which composed them amounted to 20,000. In justification of this part of their discipline, it must be observ'd that the subject matter of verses is easier learnt by means of the metre, and more easily retain'd, than what is express'd in prose. Of the particular forts of verses which the bards us'd, there is an account in the ingenious Dr. John David Rhys's Rudiments, &c. of the British language; (2) and Mr. E. Lhuwyd is there of opinion, 'that the oldest kind of British verse is that call'd by Rhys's Grammar Englyn Milur, and that 'twas in the oldest kind of British verse is that call'd by Rhys's Grammar Englyn Milur, and that 'twas in the language of the British there are formed to the British there are formed to the provide toward the British there are formed to the British the Britis this fort of metre the Druids taught their disciples, of which there are some traditional remains to this day in Wales, (3) Cornwall, and Scotland, and a farther testimony the verses themselves bear to this truth, in that they generally contain some divine or moral doctrine. (4) As the bards (an inferiour class of Druids) were remarkable for an extraordinary talent of memory; (5) this teaching memoriter, and by verse, was likely their office, whilst the superiours of the order were employ d in higher speculations, or the more secret and solemn parts of duty." Berlase's Antiquities, p. 83, 84. "The sort of verse I find most common among our oldest remains, is that called Englyn Milur in Jo. Dav. Rhys's Grammar, p. 184. And as I have (tho' but rarely) heard the same in the shire of Argyle in Scotland, and also in Cornwall, I am apt to conclude it one of the most ancient, if not the very oldest fort of verse we ever had; and that it was in this fort of metre the Druids taught their disciples; of whom Cæsar says: Ad bos magnus adolescentium numerus Disciplinæ causa concurrit.—Ii certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio totius Galliæ media babetur, confidunt, in loco confecrator Huc omnes undique conveniunt; eorumque judiciis deeretifque parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam transsata, esse existimatur. Et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi caussa proficiscuntur. Druides a bello abesse consueverunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum babent immunitatem. Tantis excitati præmiis & sua sponte multi in Disciplinam conveniunt, & a propinquis parentibusque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanent, &c. Cæs. de Bello Gall. I. vi. That this is ancient enough to have been the verse used by the Druids, is manifest from there being some traditional remains of it at this day, in Wales, Cornwall, and Scotland; though it be immemorial when any such were last made. And that it really was used by them seems also highly probable, as a great number of the Welsh Englyns of this fort have always some doctrine, di-

(1) La Relig. de Gaul. iii. pag. 59. (2) See Archaeol. Brit. pag. 250. (3) A. D. 1743. At Bala in Merionethshire an annual meeting and festival of the Bards is celebrated. There assemble together 60 or 70 harpers. In all this company of mufical poets fcarce fix of them can read, and yet fome of them have fuch

a poetic genius that their compositions have both spirit and invention. (5) Galtruchius's Hift. Poetique. lib. iii. chap. iv. (4) Lhuyd. 251. .

Have thy fifter's fallen from heaven? Are they who rejoiced with thee at night no more? Yes, they have fallen, fair light! And thou dost often retire to mourn!"—Are we not instantly reminded of that grand apostrophe—"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning?" The heavenly bodies appear to have been the common objects of veneration both in Scotland and in the east. The hospitality of an Arabian princess, is thus praised by a poet of Arabia: "The stranger and the pilgrim well know, when the sky is dark and the north wind rages, that thou art a sun to them by day, and a moon in the cloudy night."(a) In the same manner, Ossan: "He was like the strong-beaming sun."(b) The following image seems more in the style of an Arabian, amidst his thirsty desarts, than of a poet of the Highlands: "Before them rejoiced the king, as the traveller, in the day of the fun; when he hears, far rolling around, the murmur of mostly streams; streams, that burst, in the desart, from the rock of roes."(c) The traveller and the hospitable chieftain, were equally the theme of the Highland and the Arabian poet. And the warrior was described by both, in the same figurative terms. The Arabian warrior advancing at the head of his army, is "compared (fays Sir W. Jones) to an eagle failing through the air, and piercing the clouds with his wings." Thus the leader of Offian, "comes like an eagle, from the skirt of his squally wind! In his hand are the spoils of foes!" (d) This allusion is frequent in Offian. "From thy vales come forth a race, fearless as thy strong-winged eagles; the race of Colgorm of iron shields, dwellers of Loda's hall." (e) "Erin (f) rose around him; like the sound of eagle wing "(g) But love was the most prolife shield. The poets of Archice and of eagle-wing."(g) But love was the most prolific subject. The poets of Arabia compare the foreheads of their mistresses to the morning, their locks to the night, their faces to the fun, or moon, their cheeks to roses, their teeth to pearls, hail-stones, or snow-drops. their eyes to the flowers of the narciffus, their dark coloured hair to hyacinths, their lips to rubies, the color of their breafts to fnow, their shape to the pine-tree, their stature to the javelin.(b) And the blue eyes of an Arabian woman bathed in tears, are compared to violets dropping with dew.(i) And thus, Offian: "His white-bosomed daughter, fair as a sun-beam!"(k) "No more I see thee, bright as the moon on the western wave!"(l) "That fun-beam! that mild light of love! It foon approached. We faw the fair. Her white breaft heaved with fighs. The wind was in her loofe dark hair! Her rofy cheek had tears."(m) "Her breast was whiter than the down of Cana—her eyes were two stars of light! Her face was heaven's bow in showers—her dark hair flowed round it like the streaming clouds!"(n) "Daughter of strangers (he said) young pine of Inishuna!"(o) And Malvina, lamenting over Oscar, says: "I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar, with all my branches round me!" "Hunters, from the mossly rock, saw ye the blue eyed sair? Are her steps on grassy Lumon, near the bed of roes?"(p) "The daughter of Starno came with her voice of love—her blue eyes rolling in tears."(q) "She left the hall of her fecret fign! fhe came in all her beauty, like the moon from the cloud of the east. Loveliness was around her, as light. Her steps were the music of songs. She saw the youth and loved him! Her blue eye rolled on him in fecret!"(r) When we confider

vine or moral, in the conclusion; the rest being often infignificant, and serving only as metre thereunto. And of this kind are those very ancient Epigrams called Englynyen ur ciry: as,

Eiry mynydh, guyn pôb ty;

Kynnevin biân a xany:

Ni dbaw da o dra xysgy. (1)

Eiry mynydh, guynt ae taul,

Lhydan lhoergan, glâs tavaul;

Odid dyn diried, dibaul (2)

Eiry mynydh hydh ym mròn;

Goxuiban guynt yux blaen òn:

Trydydb troed y ben y fon. (3)

Dr. Pryce's Archæol. p. 54.

(a) See Poems by Sir William Jones. (b) Offian, vol. 1, p. 23. (c) Offian, vol. 2, p. 152.

(d) Offian, vol. 1, p. 17. (e) p. 23. (f) Eirin, Iran, Ireland. (g) Offian, vol. 2, p. 92.

(b) See Jones's Poems, Effay 1, p. 168. (i) ibid. (k) Offian, vol. 1, p. 23. (l) p. 56.

(m) p. 276. (n) p. 24. (o) vol. 2, p. 146. (p) Offian, vol. 2, p. 136. See Solomon's Song.

(q) Offian, vol. 1, p. 266. (r) ibid.

<sup>(1) —</sup> Melior vigilantia fomno: (2) Homo nequam lifis occasione non carebit: (2) Seni baculus, tertius pes esto.

the difference of objects which nature presented to the view, in Arabia and in the Highlands, and when we reflect that the poets of both countries were alike remarkable for fimply describing what they saw and felt, we must necessarily make allowances for much Arabian imagery not occurring in the Highland poetry. But, after these allowances, we cannot but admire the similarity of Ossian, to the eastern poets, in various illustrations of his subject, and see every where a strong likeness in their style and manner. The Arabs and the Highlanders not only resembled each other in their poetry, but in their attachment to the persons of their poets. (a) "The fondness of the Arabians for poetry (says Sir William Jones) and the respect which they shew to poets, would be scarce believed, if we were not assured of it by writers of great authority. The principal occasions of rejoicing among them, were formerly, and very probably are to this day, the birth of a boy, the foaling of a mare, the arrival of a guest, and the rise of a poet in their tribe. When a young Arabian has composed a good poem, all the neighbours pay their compliments to his family, and congratulate them upon having a relation capable of recording their actions, and of recommending their virtues to posterity." And thus, the Highlanders, fond of military fame, and attached to the memory of their ancestors, delighted in traditions and songs concerning the exploits of their nation, and especially of their own particular families. In every Highland clan or tribe, therefore, those who were qualified to transmit to posterity the actions of heroes, were as highly respected as among the Arabs. Offian compares the "music of bards to the dews of the morning on the hill of roes."

Thus, in so late an age as that of Ossian, the Asiatic muse (b) illuminated the Highlands: yet Danmonium was fated to enjoy but a short time the pure splendor of eastern poetry. In the recesses of the Highlands, it was long preserved. But, Danmonium lost much of her primitive orientalism, as she became the mart of commerce, or the seat of

war. Her connexion with the Phenicians, was not favourable to literature.

The Phenicians, it is true, spoke nearly the same language as the people of Devonshire and Cornwall. The British, the Irish, the Erse, and the Phenician, were branches of the fame oriental tree: They were dialects of the fame Afratic language. But the Phenicians, from their mercantile connexions and various intercourse with half the nations of the world, foon permitted their dialect to be corrupted by foreign words and phrases: In this adulterated state they introduced it into Danmonium.

About the time of the fettlement, therefore, of the Phenicians in this western part of the island, we may fix the fecond stage of the British language, as spoken in Devon and Cornwall. There are many who represent the ancient language of Danmonium as no other

(a) Poems, p. 173. (b) Dr. Knox (the most fensible, spirited, and elegant of all our English essayists) informs us, that "a resemblance has been pointed out by some ingenious critics between the Gothic and Oriental poetry, in the wild enthusiasm of an irregular imagination. And they have accounted for it, by supposing, with great probability, that in an emigration of the Asiatics into Scandinavia, the Eastern people brought with them their national spirit of poetry, and communicated it to the tribes with whom they united." There is no other way, indeed, of accounting for this resemblance. For, the Arabian or the Persian, " who is placed in a climate where the serenity of the weather constantly presents him with blue skies, luxuriant plantations, and sunny prospects, will find his imagination the strongest of his faculties; and, in the expression of his fentiments, will abound in allusions to natural objects, in fimilies, and the most lively metaphors. His imagination will be his distinguishing excellence, because it will be more exercised than any other of his faculties; and all the powers both of body and mind are known to acquire vigour by habitual exertion. He, on the other hand, whose lot it is to exist in a less favoured part of the globe, who is driven by the inclemency of his climate to warm roofs, and, instead of basking in the sunshine amidst all the combined beauties of nature, flies for refuge from the cold to the blazing hearth of a smoky cottage, will seek, in the exercife of his reason, those resources which he cannot find in the actual employment of his imagination. Good fense and just reasoning will therefore predominate in his productions. Even in the wildest of his flights, a methodical plan, the result of thought and reflection, will appear, on examination, to restrain the irregularities of licentious fancy." (1) Yet, the Scandinavian, the Highland, and the Danmonian bards, have all the slightiness and fire of the oriental genius.

<sup>(1)</sup> See Knox's Effays (8th edit.) vol. 2, p. 331, 332.

other than Phenician.(a) On this idea, they proceed to derive from the Phenicians the name of the island itself, of this western tract in particular, of its rivers, its mountains, its vallies, and its towns, together with its natural and artificial productions.(b) Sammes, in his description of Britain, intimates, that the name(c) of Britain was given to it by the Phenician navigators, signifying the Land or Island of Tin; which they called Bratanac, or Baratanac; and that this was agreeable to the custom of those merchants, who gave names to many places on the sea-coasts, in Ægypt, Africa, Gaul, and Spain—all the ancient names of which are of Phenician extract or origin; though many of them were afterwards perverted by the Greeks to their own idiom. (d) Thus (according to Sammes) Cornwall is so named from cern or kern, or cheran; a Phenician word for a headland, promontory, or point of land like a born. Cornwall has two such points of land—the promontory called Bel ir or promontorium Belerium; the other, Meneg, from the Phenician word Meneog, a peninsula. And thus Danmonium, including Cornwall and Devonshire, comes from dan or dun, a Phenician word for a hill, and moina signifying mines, in Phenician, or minerals, that is to say, the country of mines.(e) It is to the Phenician age, that

(a) Dr. Pryce intimates, in his Archæologia Cornu-britannica, that the Cornish language was immediately introduced by the Phenicians. This idea seems to be derived from Scawen's MS. to which the Doctor had access. It is there observed that the West-British tongue was most like the Phenician—manly, short, and expressive. "The Passion, a poem, written in Cornu-British, is not easily understood by the Wess, from the intermixture of those idiomatic expressions, originally borrowed from the Phenicians." Scawen's MS. as referred to by Borlase. Nat. Hist. p. 314.

(b) We should remember, however, that the Phenician is derived from the Chaldaic, as well as

the pure British—the language of the Aborigines of Danmonium.

(c) "Some have thought (fays Borlase) that the Phenicians—others, that the Grecians planted some of the sea-coasts; leaving colonies behind them: But the great uniformity to be observed among the ancient Britons, proves them to be of one original." That there was, however, a very striking distinction between the inland inhabitants and those of the maritime parts, Cæsar asserts upon the best grounds. And this position will be abundantly proved in the course of our disquisitions. With respect to the Phenicians, Dr. Borlase asserts, in opposition to Sammes, that the discovery and colonization of the west by this people, has no other foundation than the names of places derived from Phenician words.

(d) "Britain, the most renowned island of the whole world, was called by the ancient Greeks AΔBIΩN, afterwards it took the name of Britannia, but more truly, Bretanica, from the adjacent islands called, Barat-anac, or Bratanac by the Phoenicians, from the abundance of tynn, and leadmines, found in them. It was alwaies esteemed a very considerable part of the world, even in the height of the Roman Empire, and much celebrated in the writings and monuments of the Gracians; and, as if the genius of this nation did prompt the inhabitants, and infenfibly lead them to trade and traffick, we find that besides that, the island received its name from it, insomuch, that, in the first ages, it was frequented by the ablest merchants, and skilfullest marriners, the Phænicians; who carefully, and studiously concealed this treasure from the world, being exceeding jealous, least the fource and head of their trade being discovered, the busie Gracians might put in for sharers: And least the fruitfulness of the foyl, the pleasant and delightful scituation of the country, might tempt those of their own nation to neglest their barren foyl, and betake themselves to this more temperate and bleffed clymate; we read, that, by a publick edict of those states, care was taken to prevent it, yea, all possible means used too, to stop the current which was visibly turning that way." Sammes, p. 1, 2.—" The reason that absolutely confirms me in the opinion, the Scilly Islands gave name at last to this great Island, that now alone keeps the name of Britannia, is, because Pliny writes, that this island was called Albion, when as all the islands adjacent were called Britain: so that we see the name of Bratanac first took place in the adjacent islands, before it came on the main land of Albion, but in fuccession of time the name gaining footing in Cornaval and Devonshire, it prevailed at last over all the island, and the greater part swallowed up at last the name of the whole, although corrupted and distorted by the several dialects it ran through." Sammes, p. 43.

(e) "As the Silures derived their name from the Phanicians, so likewise did the Danmonii, the in-

(e) "As the Silures derived their name from the Phænicians, fo likewife did the Danmonii, the inhabitants of Cornwal and Devonshire, in which two counties the Phænicians were very conversant, by reason of their abounding in tynn. Upon this account some have derived them from moina, in the British tongue signifying mines, but the question is, whence the dan or dun proceeds? for Solinus calls them Dunmonii; Ptolemy, Damnonii, and in other copies (as Camden saith) trulier Danmonii, although I think the transposition is very easie and usual, and hides not at all the original dan or dun. In the ancient British language, as also in the Phænician, dun signifies a bill, and dan of the British, down of the Phænicians and English, signifie low. Now whether we derive them from dan, from their low habitations in valleys, or, which is righter, from dun moina, signifying bills of tynn; I find

both waies that they are of a Phanician derivation. Besides, this word dun, being a frequenter word in derivation, and extending to the language of the Gauls, who called an hill dun, I think more proper to derive Dunmonii from it, for from dun, a hill, many cities of high scituation both in Gaul and Britain take their name, as Augustodunum, Axellodunum, Juliodunum, Laudunum, Melodunum, Noviodunum, Sedunum, Vellannodun m. Clitophon expressy, Lugdunum, Corvi Collem, because it was placed on a bill; likewise Andomatunum, with a T, in Ptolemy, the metropolis of the Lingones. The first country of the Danmonii westward is Cornaval, shooting into the sea, and running into a point of Belirium, the name of which country, if we examine the original of it, and what at this day it is called by the inhabitants, and the similitude it bears with other places, exactly agreeing in name and nature with it, we shall find it could be called so by none but the Phænicians. To prove this, let us confider it is agreed upon by all hands, that it received its name from being like a born, running smaller and smaller, with little promontories, as if they were horned on either side: And this is brought from Korn, plur. Kern, fignifying borns in the British language. Now as this Kern or Korn is derived from the Phaenician Keren, fignifying the same, so the manner of calling places after that fort came from them also, a thing so frequent in the eastern countries, to call any corner or angle made, by the name of born; as for example, Cyprus called Cerastis, and Κειεμετωπα in Taurica Chersoneso; that we are not to doubt but Cornwal, called Kernaw by the inhabitants, proceeded from the Phænician here. To give an instance, the city Carnon, as Pliny calls it, Carna, as Ptolemy, meerly upon the account of its standing upon an angle, cut out by two high-waies that met there in a point on which Carna was built, one of which roads from Mecca leads to Taspb, the other to Sanaa. But this way of the Phanicians was frequently in promontories whose Phanicians Karnatha, afterwards mollified by the Greeks into Kegveatis, Kégve, Kýgve, and all this, from its having so many promontories, which by the Phanicians were called Kern. That Cornwal was called Kernaw by them rather than the inhabitants, will appear: First, because there is no other promontory in this island so called, notwithstanding the British language was in use through the whole. There are other places that run into the sea as much like a horn as this, which, in my judgment, is an evident fign of the Phanicians in this part of England above others. Secondly, because it is more natural to imagine, that sailors (to whom the shapes of countries appear at a distance, more than to the inhabitants) should give the name, than those that only ply'd up on the shoars in small carows, or leather and wicker boats, as the Britains did. It is to be observed that Meneg, a part of Cornaval, which of the fouth fea does make another direct horn, is also of a Phænician derivation, agreeing to that description Mr. Camden gives of it, viz. that it is a Demy-Island, Meneog of the Phanician fignifying kept in by the fea, and which he proves in the Menna which Jornandus describes out of Cornelius a writer of antiquities; so that to sailors afar off, Cornwal appears with two horns, Ariking itself into the sea, which part of England, I believe, was first discovered by the Phanicians, who, without question, finding a world of tynn in them, secured them for themselves. And althou Meneg is now deflitute of all mettals, as long ago exhausted, yet that there were such mines in it, hear the same author: It has great store of Mettal Mines, very full of grass and herbs, bringing forth more plentifully all those things which serve for pastorage of beasts, and nourishment of man. I will only mention one thing in this peninsula, which seems to me exactly to preserve its Phænician name, and that is a fortification of flones only without any cement or mortar, lying as upon the lake Leopole, a fortification after the manner of the Britains, as Tacitus describes them, rudes & informes faxorum compages, which was the way of the eastern nations, as the scriptures themselves inform us. This rude heap of stones the inhabitants call to this day Erth, without giving any reason for so ancient a rampier, and of so great a compass as it is, so that none can induce me to believe but that it took its name from the lake on which it lies, for the Phænicians call'd all lakes, Arith, so that this military fence called, as I have faid, Er.b, I believe from thence received its name. There are many places in these two counties, Cornwal and Devorshire, which retain exact soot-steps of the Phænicians, that cannot be found any where else, which I shall omit as nothing easier than to fancy similitudes, especially where, perhaps, they will not be allowed of. The truth of Phænician trafficks in these parts do not depend upon such conjectures, but evidenced by authentick histories, so that I will not mention Godelean, a hill famous for the plenty of the mines of tynn, as Mr. Camden witneffeth, which plenty of that mettal is included in the very word it felf, only here let me observe, that in the west and fouth parts of England, even where the British language prevails not, we find many places begin with Pen, namely, such as are of a high scituation, which, without dispute, is an argument, that Pen, a bill in the British language, came from the Phanician Pinnah, fignifying the fame thing, beeaufe we find it most used in those parts of England the Phænicians frequented most; nay through all this is and we shall scarce meet with any northward, when on the west and south coasts, we cannot go six or eight miles but we find them. To instance in the south-side of Cornwal only: Penrose, Pensans, Pengersick, Penrose again, Penwarron, Pendennis, Penkeivel, Penwyn, Pentuan, Penrock, to which may be added that infinite number of towns beginning with Tre, as Treewose, Trenowth, Tregenno, Trewarveneth, Trevascus, Trenona, Trewaridreth, Treworgan, Tregernin, Trelisick, Trefusis, Tregamian, Tremadart, Tregonoc, which those very same parts can have no other account given of them, if they proceed not from the Phoenician Tira, and by contraction Tra, signifying a castle, so that they were forts built by them to fecure their trade. Now give me leave to inflance here in fome British words that agree exactly with the Phoenician, which I shall put down in English characters, leaving the examination of the words, and the roots of them to the learned.

Brit.	Phœnician.	English.
Crag, or Careg,	Carac, Crac,	A bill.
Corn, plur. Kern,	Coran, plur. Kern,	A born.
Caer, from whence came Caerlyle,	Caer, from whence Carthago,	A city.
Get,	Gwith,	A breach.
Caturfa,	Kat-erva,	A troop.
Penn,	Pinnah,	The cliff of a bill.
Cum,	Cum,	Low.
Dan,	Douna,	Down.
Pel, furthest off, whence Mr. Camden brings Belirium,	Peli,	To remove away.
Meath,	Mawath,	A plain or valley.
Ara,	Ahari,	Slow.
Garav, or Garaw,	Garaph,	Swift.
Dun,	Dun,	A bill.
Bro,	Baro,	A country or region.
Gwith,	-Guet,	A Separation."
	게 되었다. 이 경기	

Sammes, p. 58, 59, 60.

"The name of Danmon, the country or province of Devonshere now by a syneresis or contraction named Denesheere was sometimes one and the same province with Cornewall, and so by all the old and ancient cronographers were reputed, and both by the name of Danmonia were called which is to say the country of valleys, whith the old Britons, and now the Welsh (which be the remaynents of the Britons) soe name it, which signifyeth deepe and narrow valleys. for the country is sfull of hills and mountaines, and where be many hills there consequently be also many valleys." Hooker, p. 1.

"And notwithstanding that the river of Tamer is the boundes and limits betweene Devon and Cornewall faving that in some particular places the one borroweth of the other yet they both doe retain their old and and ancient name in the Latine tongue with this difference the one being called the East Danmonia and the other the West Danmonia, but when these two were joyned in one it was much greater and did reach in length ffrom the ffarthest parte and pointe of the Isle of Sillye in the west unto the confines and marches of Durotines and the Belgianes in the east which is Dorfetsheere and Somersetsheere. ffor in times past some writers doe hold that Sillye was continent land with Cornewall, but by the violence of raging feas in processe of time the land betweene them hath bin wasted and devoured. and whereof some instances be given, because in a ffaire summer and a fun shining day the feafayring men doe fee and discerne fundry monuments of houses and churches vnder and in the water. And yet notwithstanding the open space and partition betweene them, they be both in one and in the same province, of Cornewall, and both it and the province of Devon be in one diocesse and vnder one and the same Bishop of Excester, these two provinces when they were both one they were also called Corinia and so named (as it is thought) by Corineus cosen vnto Brutus and a speciall man off accompt and of service vnder him, whom Brutus rewarded with this country at their ffirst arrivall and landing in the same, And albeit some doe not allow this nor the history of Brutus to be true. yet fforafmuch as antiquity hath left it vnto us ffor a matter of truth, it were against all humanity to denye the same and to derogate that creditt which hath ffor ever hitherto bin received." Hooker, p. 2.

"It is obvious to vs in most authors, I mean Geographers and Historiographers, that either describe kingdomes or write their histories, that they are more troubled to fearch & finde their primitive names & whence they are derived, & the reason why they were first imposed then in any other matter although of far greater worth and consequence: This caused Plutark the great dictator of knowledge to complain in his preface to the life of Romulus, that the historiographers before him did much varye in their writings, by whome or for what cause the great name of the great citye, Rome (in its time the glory of the whole world) was first imposed on it. Of such like we need not make fearch among other foreigne writers, in regard it is foe apparently feene in this our owne country, whither you name it Albion, Brittaine or England, whose fame is now farder spred then Romes in her greatness, about each of these 3 severall names, and the first plantation thereof many worthy wise & learned men have long busied wearied yea clean tyred themselves, & yet in fine lest it but vpon supposalls & vncertaine conjecture. Let vs but seriously consider the alterations of names of fuch countries in the histories whereof wee are most conversant; And for our more affurance leave poets & vncertain reporters, & fuch as come onely by tradition & folye observe how the countries cityes and mountaines in the land of promife had their names altered from the time of Abraham; or when Moles wrote to the birth of Our Saviour (some 1500 of yeares) & from that age to this our time 1631 somewhat longer, & their with all the qualitie of the soyle, & wee shall finde much matter worthy our ferious confideration & observation in the viciffitude & interchangeable course of places both in name & nature, which diverse have both with eyes & minde rightly considered in their late

trauells; when they faw & endured the penurie & barrenness of that region, they could hardly bee induced to believe that that was the land that Jehova the great God of heaven had promised to his chosen servant Abraham should flow with milk and honey for

That pleasant soyle that did even shame erewhile. The plenteous beauties of the bankes of Nile Void now of force or vital vegitive. Vpon whose brest nothing can live or thrive.

As the divine poet fingeth: then who (if this world should continue yet the like time to come) will bee able to yield a reason why the ports, havens, ilands and kingdomes in America have their now denominations imposed by their late discoverers or latest conquerors (the antient being rejected & irrecoverably lost) as Peru, Fslorida, Virginia, and especially the land of ffamine and desolation which two may long within that supposed time bee made as habitable & fruitfull, or some way sound as benefitiall as any the other. Why then should there bee a certain reason expected of the names & original of countries soe long since inhabited, & soe often changed and counterchanged by the vicissitude of inhabitants, as the Poet excellently saith,

Sith it befalls, not alwayes that his feed Who built the towne doth in the fame fucceed. And to fay more, fince vnder heauen noe race Perpetually poffeffeth any place, Ffor when as wind the angry ocean moves Waue hunteth waue, & billow billow fhoues. Soe doe all nations iustle each the other And soe one people doth pursue an other. And scarce the second hath the first vnhowsed Before the third him thence again haue roused.

And what hath beene left vs written worthy our vndoubting beleife (the facred scriptures onely excepted) before the warrs of Thebes or destruction of Troy (which is supposed neer the time that Jeptha judged Israel), both which are deliuered vnto vs rather poetically, than historically; which doth embolden mee to demand this question with the poet Lucretius

Cur fupra bellum Thebanum et funera Trojæ, Non alias quondam veteres cecinêre Poetæ?

You cannot faile of a probable answere, that sew languages had then characters; and sew men were learned, and sewer writers in that age, and those sew treated of matters of greater worth, and more needfull to bee knowne & perpetuated to posteritie and what was by them written (being in neither of the strong & durable substance of Seth his pillars to resist the two contrarie elements of fire & water) perished together in the great libraries. If the original of kingdomes, their primitive names, & the reason of those imposed denominations bee see laborious to bee inquired after and see difficult to bee found; much more industry will be required, & much more obscure will it bee to find the same of subjected provinces within them. Of one of which (Devon I mean my native soyle) I intend by God's affistance (after my poor skill & reading) to shew you a slight superficial veiw.

Afpirate meis ——

Wherein if I shall endeavour to follow the poets good advice when hee faith-Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit vtile dulci; I hope that shall not discontent. And in such a consused chaos of varieties to intermix some inveterate traditions, somewhat differing but not disagreeing from the matter in hand together with a strang & pleasant tale, when I cannot shun it; with antient names, epitaphes or armories well neer buried in oblivion, matters non supervacual or vnworthy to bee revived & kept living, (vnless wee would have our owne name & remembrance to perish with our bodies) or some etymologies seeming strange & far setcht, old or new, serious tryvial or curious, with plain descriptions of places: for these and such like matters may (without peradventure) more ease and recreat the wearied mind of the reader (that reades for recreation) with more delightfull content, for varietye; then dislike the severe critick for simplicitie, vulgaritye or doubt of veritie: Some sew things will occur in reading but much more varietie is to be added by fearch, collection and indufrious labour, wherein some suppositions are to bee pardoned if they err, (for hee that divineth in things of this qualitie vpon bare conjectures may as well shut short as overshut the markes hee aimeth at) if they bee not ferious, but alleaged onely to furnish & beautifie the edifices as pictures and mapps in a gallery. Here you may converse with the dead (whose reliques long fince diffolved to dust, will neither flatter nor accept thereof) see their obeliskes & monuments read their epitaphes (which shew vs either what they were and what wee shall bee, or sometimes what wee should bee) & fee their actions registred or worthy to bee, to encourage their posteritie to imitation. But herein if any mans expectation bee vnsatisfied, sciant presentes et suturi; that this poor cote was erected with brick burnt with stubble gathered with my owne handes in such barren fieildes as I have traveld over wherein those of whome I have had any affiftance (be it never foe flender) shall not be forgotten, but somewhere remembered, & their mite made a beazant. And if such (as vpon request) have refused to yield mee any affistance shall (as I am affured they will first of all) taxe mee of negligence in forgetting them as I passed by, such I could wish to have more courtifye & affabilitie & not to prefume to thinke they know others when they are ignorant of themselves, whom when they well know, not to cheft vp that knowledge nor scornefully to refuse to participate it to other, & to remember the old verse,
Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter

But it is high time to follow Diogenes councell to shutt the gate lest the towne run out, yet I shall defire if any thing found or feem to your vnderstanding contrarie to my intendment, that my vnskilfulness in regard of my willingness may have a mild & favourable interpretation: And in all serious matters of antiquitie those authors I have followed shall plead for my integritie. It is dull doubtfull and vncertaine travelling in an vnknown way without a guide, yet hee is droven to a far greater extremitie that at every croffeway of his journey is taught feverall wayes by feveral guides. yet howfocuer if you please to travle thither have with you about Denshire.

Whence Devonshire tooke denomination & what divers names it hath had.

Deavonia, Devonshire, now by synæresis or abbreviation Denshire, a province of this little world of Brittaine as Claudian faid. Noftro deducta Britannia mundo. It was fometime one and the fame province with Cornwall & foe by all ancient chorographers reputed & both included vnder the Latine name Danmonia; by Solinus Polyhistor, Dunmonia; by Ptolomeus, Damnonia, as derived from Monia, Mines, or from their habitation in low & deep vallies. These antient writers lived far remote, & could hardly have a true relation of travelors that onely touched at our havens; or traveyling through our country, vnderstood not the language, & perchance conversed with those which knew little of the etymoligie of the name. I should rather therefore (in regard it is a worke of affistance & that I shall bee hardly able to master it by my owne strength) craue and of the Brittaines themselves which named it (& foe doe the Welsh which descended from them) Diffinint, Duffeneyn, or Dinnan, all which in one fense fignifie deep & narrow valleyes; and doth in some fort expresse the nature & qualitie of the foyle; which is mountanous & hilly, & where the one is there must needes be the other, for there were neuer seene two hills without a valley. some in their private opinions may bee feverally pleased with some one of these. others will derive it from the Danes & call it Dane's-shyre. but therefore as yet I could neuer find any probabilitie, onely a sympathy of letters or a synonima in found, but not in fignification; for it had this name long before the Danes arrival (not above one thousand yeares fince) and they had little time of command here (much less of quiet occupation) to give names to flirps or townes much leffe to countries. But all thefe (which ferve to noe better purpose then to shew the vncertentie thereof) I will leave, & every man to his particular choice of them, I will bee free from all; nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri; and I hope I may be excufed if I differ from others in this particular & offer my opinion or conjecture among this multitude: Soe I would call it Avon-shyr De-Avonshyre by abbreviation Denshir. Avon in the most antient speech of this land is a river and (taken generally as it fignifies) is a name for all running wells, brookes, riverets, rivers and fleeting streames & waters. and this countrie abounding more in water springs & rivers that (as the prophet faith) cleeve the earth, then any that I have heard or read off; I am induced to think it may with good reason take name from them as from mynes, valleyes, or Danes, for Here many brookes as through the groves they travle

Doe fport for joy vpon the filver gravle. Deavon or Devon the country of rivers or waters, which is fooner granted with lefs alteration of letters by farr, then any of the other, & agreeth more fitly with the nature of our foyle & propertie of language, and as the poet faith, conveniunt rebus nomina fæpe fuis. And the light of reverend antiquitie & knowledge Mr. Cambden, proveth that the Gawlish and Bryttish speech was all one. Being soe, Diu in the Brittish speech signifieth with vs God, & Avon a spring or river, as Ausonius

writing of a ffountain neer Burdeaux, faith,

Diuona Celtarum Lingua, fons addita Divis. Diuona in the Celtish words A well facred to God affouards.

Or a divine river. there are also divers rivers in this kingdome, which have noe other name at this present (nor ever had) then Avon, the river. one of good note in Wiltshyre, that falls from Dorset into the ocean. another of that name which breaketh out of the earth at Avon Well in Leycestershire by Malmesburye called Avon the Lesse, passeth through Northamptonshire, & cleeveth Warwick, Worcefter, & Sometfetshire, running many miles ere it visit Bath & Bristoll and there increaseth Severne. In Glamorganshire you have a to one bearing the name of Aber-Avon; as if wee said the mouth of the river; and in Monmouth & Merioneth in each of them one of that name. And that work of admirable magnificence built by Cardinal Wolfey, in oftentation (as it was faid) of his abundant riches, Hampton Court, now a royal palace of our Soveraigne, was first called Avon in that it stood on the river as Leland avoucheth-

Nomine ab antique iam tempore dictus Avona.

Hampton Court is the fame

In elder time that Avon had to name.

And as if it had not byn foe onely in the Bryttish speech, wee find it also in the sherisdome of Sterling, in Scottland, that Hadrianus the Emperour or his adopted Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antonius most of our antiquaries recur, in settling the etymology of British words. But the names of our rivers, (a) were certainly prior to the Phenicians-names, which they preserve

Pius, or his Lieutenant Lollius Vrbius did for the defence of the country crect a wall of turfe which began as the Scots write at Avon (or the ryver Avon) that falleth into Edenborrow Frith. And that it was foe in more languages, which have little concurrence now with our speech (perchance antiently all one) in the kingdome of Ireland, in the counties of Corke & Waterford, ther runneth the ryver (now lately of vs called Broadwater but in passed times) Avon-more the great or broad ryver, on the banckes whereof standeth Ardmore, of which place & ryver Necham long since versifieth thus

Et vrbem Lysmore pertransit flumen Avon-more

Ardmore cernitvbi concitus æquor adit.

And as we fay commonly in our vulgar phrase, when go you to the towne, not giving it any name, whither it bee London, Yorke, or Exeter, but meaning the nearest : foe wee alsoe say shall wee goe to the ryver (to Avon) whether it bee Thames, Oufe, or Exe. but to conclude all by the fentence of the dictator of knowledge, whose words I will onely exemplifie. Avon in the Bryttish speech (fayth Mr. Cambden) importeth a ryver, whereof Aventowne takes denomination, which is no more strange then in the same signification (to omit many other) Watertowne, Ryvertowne, & Bourne: and as the Latines haue, Aquinum et Fluentum. I am not so apelike affected to this my conjecture as to applaud it; neither haue I reason to feare opposition, for this actiologie can neither seeme harsh or absurd, in regard the words are soe consonant, & the name alsoe as a true picture doth plainly represent the things which in etimologies is chiefly required & sought after. Others have alleaged the like of other countries, authors of great credit. Jvo Carntensis affirmeth that Aquitania (a great dukedome in Ffrance, well neer a third part thereof) tooke name de Aquis of waters. Junius maintaines that Denmark tooke denomination from Denne, firr-trees. Verstegan allegeth out of Engelhujius that the Saxons tooke appellation from their fwords or knives, which the Seaxen or Seaxes (it was with such they made the massacre of the nobilitie vpon the plaines neer Amesbury). Another would have soe named of Saxum, a stone, as stony-hearted. My conjecture may seeme as probable as either of these: but I can neither persuade nor intreat, but leave it to your favourable opinion, hoping it shall seeme noe marvell or strange to see my blindness grope, siith those that see perfectly and are sharpest fighted cannot find a right way. It is alsoe written of the Bryttaines by Gyldas that they yielded divine worship to waters & riuers; as in cold water or ordial tryall (as they termed it) for discouerie of witchcraft; wherein their opinion was, that the element of water was soe pure, that it would not fuffer itselfe to bee contaminated by receiving the bodies of any fuch vile & reprobate person, though cast thereinto bound hand and foot; but that the witch would swim; for if hee fanck they were held guiltless & presently drawn on land. It is not for christians to make such vse of ryvers, or to trust them soe farr; yet are wee to take it as a great bleffing of the Almightie that wee haue fuch store, to inrich our grounds & as the kingly prophet fayth,

Hee fendeth springs into the brookes That runn among the hills Wherewith wild affes quench their thirst And all beafts drink their fills.

But yet it was not the Bryttaines alone that had their ryvers in this estimation, for the Germaines did the like of the river Rhyne, making it a judge in question of defiled wedlock: and those of Thessaly had the like of Pæneus for his pleasures profitts & vertues. Julius Solinus ascribeth the like propertie to a spring in Sardinia for the tryall of theft. for whosoeuer by oath denyed the fact & washed his eyes with the water thereof, if hee swore truly his fight became the clearer, but forswearing himselfe, the culp was presently discouered by his blindness, & the delinquent was forc't to confess the fact in darkness with lost of his sight. But in this ordeal triall (though the way bee spatious and pleafant) I will lead you noe farder. But leaving the better explanation of the name of Deven to him that can with Nauius Cotem novacula scindere; and tell you how & when Deuon & Cornwall were

divided & fundred." Westcote, p. 1, to p. 7.

(a) The late Rev. Richard Lewis, of Honiton, in a letter to Dean Milles, dated June 20th, 1757, makes the following remarks on the names of our rivers, mountains, towns, and caftles. " Mr. Baxter, in his most valuable glossary, would willingly believe, that all places of note in Devon and Cornwall, derive their origin from British fountains; and I can't help thinking that he is for the most part in the right; though in order to support his favourite system, it may be suspected that he sometimes impresses, as it were, words into his service. But though an unprejudiced reader cannot always subscribe to his opinion, yet he cannot chuse but admire his sagacity in languages, and his singular ingenuity in the derivation of words and account of places. This judicious author makes the knowledge of the British language so necessary an ingredient in the composition of an antiquarian, that without it, he thinks it impossible to investigate the meaning either of the antient or even the modern names of places. In his Epistola Dedicatoria, he observes, 'Vix opus esse videtur ut moneam Antiquario Britannico prorsus esse necessariam Britannicæ Linguæ peritiam; ob hujus tamen inscitiam multi nec parvi nominis viri non raro in errores incidere.' The rules which Mr. Baxter has collected to the present hour; "fill as they flow, referring us to that remarkable era in our history, when the British stag took shelter in their streams from the chace, or the British warriors

from his friend Mr. Llhuyd, for the derivation of words, are almost an unerring guide for arriving at their true meaning. Now places take their names from things of circumstances coeval with the places themselves; seldom from any modern improvements in arts and sciences; seldom from things or circumstances of a precarious nature. They are generally derived from the names of the rivers near which they are situated. Sometimes, indeed, they are named agreeably to their situation, soil, &c. as Church Staunton or Stoneton, and Clayheydon, in Devon; where the name of the one parish is derived from the clay or dirty soil for which it is remarkable; and the name of the other from the number of stones or rocks, which are sound in almost every part of it. But most places of any note in the kingdom are named from the rivers which run near them; as Exeter, Taunton, Dorchester; and many others. Exeter being the Castrum, Arx, or Civitas upon the Exe or Isc: Taunton the town upon Tone, or the British word Tais: Dorchester the Castrum upon the Dûr. All which words, Exe, Isc, Tone, Taw, Dûr, (1) and a great many more in the British tongue signify water or a river.

Of the Names of Rivers. 1. In the time of the old Britons, Ifc, Afc, Efc, Ofc, and Ufc (all which words fignify water) were names of feveral rivers. The English or Saxons partly retained the same names, especially in the north; and partly changed them into Ax, as in Axmouth, Axley, Axholm; into Ex, as in Exmouth, Exeter; into Ox, as in Oxford, or Oufcford; and into Ux, as in Uxbridge. These alterations were probably owing to the pronunciation of the Britons. The Saxons might fancy the British pronunciation to be too rough and guttural, and for the better founds fake they very likely changed Asc, Esc, Jsc, Uysc, &c. into Ax, Ex, Ux, &c. This is certain, that the Saxons, for want of understanding the British tongue, took the British appellatives for the proper names of rivers. Whereas the words abovementioned fignify nothing but water, and retain the same fignification, to this day, in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. 2. There are feveral rivers called Taw, Tav, Tivi, or as they were anciently written, Tam and Tim (from whence Thames and the Tamar in Devon). Now Taw, Tav, &c. fignify only water or a river: Tam is certainly the same with Ταμός in the word Ποταμός. 3. Others are called Guy, Uy, Uys, Ey, Y, and I, i.e. the water in such a place; and they are as often the final syllables of our rivers as Tav, Tiv, Tam, &c. are the initial ones. 4. Others are named Llhyr, which word also signifies water. 5. Clet, Cluyd, Clyd, &c. are likewise proper names of rivers in Scotland and Wales; whereas they fignify nothing more than a river or brook in general. 6. Mar and Mor fignify a large brook or river, as well as the fea, and give names to feveral rivers in Wales: Lastly, some rivers take their denominations from the colour of their fand or gravel. Others are metaphor cally denominated from the nature of their current, with regard to their rapidity, flowness, straitness, or windings. Others from some remarkable trees or plants growing on their banks. And others have no other name than that of the village they pass by

Of the Names of Mountains or Hills.

The most common way of naming hills was by metaphors, drawn from the several parts of the human body. Thus some were called, Y Voel, bald-pate—Y Benglog, a skull—Tal, the forehead—Cern, one side of the sace—Ael, an eye-lid—Llygad, an eye—Rhyn, a nose—Genaw, a mouth—Pen; the head—Munugl, the neck—Guar, the nape of the neck—Braich, an arm—Bron, the breast—Kest, the belly—Clun; the hip—Cevan, the back—Ystlys, the side—Bontin, the buttock—Esgair, a leg—and Troed, a foot.

Of the Names of Cities, Towns, Castles, and Villages.

1. Tin or Din, was, according to the Guydhelian British, Tun or Dun, and is so used by the Highlanders and Irish. The Romans, in their orthography of the word, agreed with them rather than us. For they wrote Uxellodunum, Neodunum, and not Uxellodinum, Neodinum, &c. 2. Maes (a field or plain) was called Magh. This the Romans wrote Magus. 3. Caer is a town, which the Old English turned into Ceaster, and afterwards into Cester, Cister, and Chester; and is the same with the Romans Castrum. 4. Tre, though at first it signified only a family, denotes a town. 5. Lihan or Lan, signifieth a church, though it originally denoted an inclosure. Lastly, the most general way of naming towns among the Britons was, as before hinted, from the riwers on which they were situated; as we find by the Roman towns in Wales, Isca Legionum, Gobannium, Nidum, Leucarum, Conovium, and Segontium, which were all made out of the British names Uysc, Kevni, Nedh, Lly-

chur, Conui, and Seiont.

These things being premised, I propose to mention some places from the head of the river Otter to Otterton, where it empties itself into the sea. And then beginning at Exeter, to pursue the sea.

<sup>(1)</sup> Afe, Efe, Ife, Ofe, Use, which the Saxons pronounced Ax, Ex, Ox, Ux, As also Avon, Alain, Dur, Dwr, Trean, Trome: Guy, Uy, Uys, Ey, Y, I. Tam, Thame, Taw, Tav, Tiv, Tauy, Tivy, Teivn, Taun, Tone. All which words fignify water.

warriors were mustered on their banks for fight." But, as the aboriginal Britons and Phenicians had one common origin, it is difficult to discriminate between the language

coast as far as Lyme. The river Otter (as it is now called) rises in a parish called Otterford, in the county of Somerset, which is no more, in common signification, than the spring or sountain head of the river Otter. Now I would suppose the old British name to be y Dwyr, the water, which the Anglo-Saxons afterwards foftened into Otter. Camden, indeed, derives the name of the river from the number of water dogs, called Otters, which are found in it. But I cannot find that it is more peculiarly remarkable for this kind of animals than other rivers in this county are. The first parish upon this river is *Up-Ottery*, which according to the English name denotes its situation up the river. *Mobun's-Ottery* is the next remarkable place on the river. From thence the river descends to *Honiton*, which, if there is any thing in the etymology of Mr. Camden, of the river, may be derived from the British words, Cwn y Tun, i.e. Oppidum Caninæ Aquæ: Cwn signifying dogs and the water. The only difficulty is about the C's being changed into H. And to folve this, it is to be observed, that fuch a change was very frequent from the British language into the Anglo-Saxon. See the word bide in Ley's edition of Franciscus Junius, which is deduced from the Welch word Cydbio, according to Mr. Llhuyd, K or C in H mutato, quam mutationem, says the editor, non infrequentem pluribus docet exemplis. Qualia funt Kellyn Holly—Korn, Horn, &c. Below Honiton lies Warrin-flon, in the parish of Bokerel. I presume it may be derived from the British words Iiar Rhyn Tun, Oppidum ad nasum sluminis, it being very remarkable that the ridge of hills running through Bokerel parish terminates above this village in the shape of a man's nose. Upon the river Wolf, which falls into the Otter at Warrinston, lies the parish of Auliscomb, surrounded by Henbury fort, and the ridge adjoining, to the north and east, and the ridge in Bokerel, to the west and by south. I would fetch the original of this place from Ael, is, Cum, i. e. Supercilium vallis aquosæ; which answers extremely well to its fituation. Below Warrinfton, the river Otter washes the parish of Bokerel to the fouth thereof; which word may be deduced from the words Beau or Bo Pecuaria Vaccarum, Kor cervus and ael supercilium, and fignifics supercilium montis juxta quod Pecuaria Vaccarum est vel cervorum Grex. There being a ridge of hills running through the middle of the parish exactly resembling an eye lid. (See the word Bovium in Baxter's Clossary). What favours this conjecture, is, that the greatest part of the parish is peculiarly fitted for a dairy; and that there was a noted park there in former times; and that Deer Park, is supposed to be the ancient lodge of this park. Add to this, that the deeds of Matthew de Buckington, were fealed with a deer's head, as his proper arms. Opposite to Bokerel, and the other side of the Otter lies Gittisbam, through which is the road from Honiton to Exeter, where are evident remains of a Roman road. This word may be derived from the British words, Guidb Silva, ys Aqua, and Ham vicus, i. e. a town on a woody rivulet, which is very apposite to its situation. The chief objection which will lie against the British etymology of the above places is, that they cannot be supposed to be of sufficient antiquity to be entitled to fuch an extraction. The answer I would give to it, is, that there are so many marks of Roman antiquities in and near the faid parishes, that as it is certain they were known to the Romans, so it must be probable, that the names had their existence in the time of the Britons. It is a thing not to be controverted, that the Romans left the British names of places as they found them: except that in places of note, they added a Latin termination to the old British word, and in other respects latinized the same. Below Buckerel, at the head of a little rivulet, which falls into the Otte:, is Feniton, which is certainly nothing else but a composition of Pen, y, Tun, i. e. Villa ad caput aquæ. I own I cannot give a satisfactory etymology of Ottery; which, however, was anciently written Autre, as I find it in old maps. On supposition that this was its old name, it may come from Air Tre, i.e. Oppidum ad aquam. I would willingly believe this town to be known to the Romans, on account of its vicinity to Woodbury and Belbury castles, of which hereafter. The river Otter leaving the last town, not far from which it runs, descends to Harford, which I would make to be Uar, Fordh, i. e. Trajectus Aquæ. This is undoubtedly the place where the river is croffed in Antonine's Iter, from Isca to Moridunum. Opposite to Harford, on the other side of the river, is Fen-Ottery, which lies under Woodbury-hill, above the Otter, which may not unnaturally be deduced from Pen y Dur, i. e. ad caput Aquæ. The river then passing through Otterton, empties itself into the sea. This place may probably be setched from y Dvor Tun, i.e. Oppidum aquæ vel ad aquam. I find this place in some authors is called Articumba, which may signify in the British tongue Domus vel Villula aquosæ vallis, from uar, ti, cum. I would now beg leave to visit you at Exeter, and the favour of your company as far as Lyme, upon the fea coast, near which place you must necessarily travel in your own performance, if not in my route. This famous city is, as is agreed on all hands, the Isca Danmoniorum, though some have injudiciously confounded it with the Isca Silurum, which is Caer Leon, in Nonmouthshire, in Wales. It is now called by the Welsh Caer Isc, i. e. Oppidum aquæ. And the county of Devon, Deveint (or else Duffineint, which fignifies deep vallies) from whence Dumnonii. The next town, which is Topsham, and which Mr. Baxter erroneously supposes to be the Moridunum of Antonine, is, as the same author would have it, derived from Koppa, Sea, Ham, i. e. Oppidum ad caput maris-the word Koppa fignifying in the Britishtongue Caput vel vertex. Possit etiam, saith he, Topesham correpte dici pro Topseaham. Not far from Topsham, on the river Exe, is Limpstone, which may easily be deduced from Lim, ui, tun, i. e. the town on a rapid stream. Below Limpstone is Exmouth (the Uxelis in Ravennas) i. e. Isca Ostium. The word Uxclis being nothing else but Uch, ael, Isc, Sive Super Supercilium Aquæ. Over against Exmouth, but fomething lower is Kenton, the Vercenia of the antients-the word Vercenia being as it were uar Kend, ui, Sive super caput undæ, quod est prope amnem. De Ibrida voce, saith Baxter, Kenton; et Fluviolus hodie dicitur Ken, ritu sequioris ævi. Crossing the river Exe again, we come to Sidmsuth, above which is Sidford, and higher up Sidbury, called by the anonymous writer Tidertis, forfan Britannis, faith Mr. Baxter, dicebatur Tud, ar Tifc, five populus vel curia ad Tifcam, ut et Sidbury and Sidmouth ibrida dicantur compositione. Notissimum est Dumnoniorum veteri Dialecto dici potest Sid pro Tid, Sicuti et Coes pro Coet. More to the east from hence is Branscomb, where three vales center near the church; through each of which very rapid streams run and unite there. So that according to Mr. Baxter's eighth rule, concerning proper names of rivers, it may be denominated vallis citæ aquæ, from Bran, a crow. He observes, that there is a brook of this name by Lan Gollen, in Denbighshire, whence the name of Dinas Bran: There are two or three more Brans in Brecknockshire and Carmarthenshire, so called from their swift current. Not far from hence is Beere, for which I can find no antient name. But I think it may confiftently be supposed to be of antient note, and may be derived from Ber, Rbui, ac fi dicatúr, faith Baxter, crus Rivi. About a mile from Beere is Seaton, which was, undoubtedly, the Moridunum in Antonines iter a Calleva ad Iscam. It is so called fram Mor, y, Dun, i.e. Oppidum magnæ undæ sive maris; to which the present name Seaton exactly corresponds. Opposite to Seaton, on the other side of the river, is Axmouth, which is one of those places in which the Saxons changed the old British word Ifc into Ax, and called it Axmouth, it being fituated near the mouth of the river, i. e. near the point where the river discharges itself into the sea. If this place was a town in the time of the Romans (which is much to be doubted) its old name was probably Uxelis, which they made out as at Exmouth, from Uch, Ael, is, that is, a town upon the brink of the water. A little to the north of Axmouth, on the Colly, which falls into the Ax, stands Colliton, which fignifies a town upon the Hazle Brook, from Collyh, y, Tun. Below it is Collyford, i. e. Corylorum amnis trajectus. In the British tongue it would have been Collb, y, Fordb, a passage over an hazle brook or river. And now we are arrived at Lyme, which though it is in Dorsetshire, is yet so very near the limits of Devon, that I thought it no improper stage to rest at. This place is thought by Mr. Camden to be of no great antiquity. And yet from the great antiquary Mr. Llhuyd, we learned that the Britons called it Llbong Pordb, i. e. according to Mr. Baxter, a port for the reception of ships. And though the town has been reduced more than once to a low ebb with regard to trade, yet it was probably inhabited in the time of the Romans. It took its name from the river Lym or Lym y, which runs through it: and accordingly the name which the Romans gave to it (if credit may be given to one of their corrupt itinera judiciously corrected) was Limia, which with the addition of a Latin termination is no more than the British words Lym y, i. e. a rapid stream. Camden, indeed, as I observed, informs us, that we scarce meet with the name of Lyme in antient books; which is very true; and from thence it may be concluded that it was not a port of any confequence till some time after the Romans left our island. However, Camden himself tells us, that R. Kinwlf, in the year 774, gave in the following words, 'the land of one mansion to the church of Scireburn, near the western banks of the river Lym, and not far from the place where it falls into the fea, fo long as for the faid church, falt should be boiled there for the supplying of various wants.' From this old record it appears, first, that at Lyme, falt was made in the eighth century, and confequently that there must have been inhabitants to attend upon the business. Secondly, that the river was known by the name of Lym, which is British, and fignifies rapid; that confequently this was a place, not only known to the old Britons, but probably inhabited by them, till the Romans drove them into Wales, Cornwall, and the northern parts of the kingdom. And thus, Sir, I have prefumed, being confessedly a blind guide, to conduct you as far as Lyme, if your patience has held out to bear me company. A dry differtation upon words is certainly of the opiate kind, unless it be to gentlemen who have a relish for antiquity. And from the little smattering I have in this respect, I have learned how necessary a virtue patience is, to make any proficiency in refearches of this nature. It you have a mind to fleep, faid a friend, get into a quiet room, take an ounce of Tom Hearne's foporific mixture, add to it a small quantity of Welch etymology, from the learned Baxter's Gloffary, and work with it a night draught of scholastic nonfense upon absolute predestination, measured by an hour glass, and divided into ten equal parts; if you have not a comfortable rest before you come to tenthly and lastly, I am much minaken. However, I am not displeased with the little pains I have taken in enquiries into antiquities; much less, I imagine, can you be, who have collected materials sufficient to execute so general a plan as your queries bespeak your intended account of Devon to be. Nor indeed does the pleasure which attends this fort of fludy, arife wholly from the little knowledge which a man acquires of the geography of his own country, of the antient names of places, of their fituation, &c. but from the light which fuch knowledge throws upon the hiftory, the customs, and exploits of our ancestors; from the infight which it gives us into the great and furprizing alteration made on the face of things during a period of about 1700 years. The antiquities of Britain confidered in this light, display a scene VOL. I.

which is worthy the notice of every thinking creature. In this light we observe not only the names of places altered, but the most magnificent works of power, the strength and pride of architecture humbled and reduced into rubbish and ruins. In this light we observe providence visibly interposing in the administration and revolution of affairs. In this light we observe the supreme Being either punishing or rewarding our ancestors, in proportion to their virtue or immorality; and leaving mo-

numents of the divine mercy or vengeance in almost every age to this very day."

Mr. Chapple (who was furnished, foon after bis undertaking was announced, with a transcript of this MS.) deferves, also, some attention as an etymologist. His etymologies are drawn from various sources. "We have some words (says he) of British extraction, from which language most of the names of the rivers, in this as well as other counties, are derived; fo that, as Mr. Whitaker obferves, (1) most of them retain to the present hour the names which were imposed upon them 2000 years ago. But in the derivations of many of our names, both of rivers and places, we must frequently content ourselves with probable guesses, rather than conclusive deductions from any certain principles: And the best etymologists have been accused (the learned Baxter particularly, and perhaps not unjustly) of being sometimes too fond of far-setch'd and improbable derivations; of pressing words into their fervice, and deriving from them whatever might be agreeable to a favourite opinion; and in short, of fubstituting meer imagination or conjecture for regular analogy. It must however be allowed that etymologies have their use, and are far from being always frivolous and impertinent; and however uncertain and precarious when unsupported by collateral evidence, they frequently prompt us to further enquiries by which we are led to more certain truths, which either confirm the etymology by concurrent circumstances, or tend to detect our former mistakes concerning it. Again, the apparent mistake of any one person in the etymology of the name of a place, may induce another to attempt a correction of that mistake; in confequence of which he may hit upon the true meaning of the name, or at least a more satisfactory guess at it, than had resulted from the unsuccessful search of the former: And this may also be a sufficient apology for any attempts of this kind in the present work, and for this addition to the text of our author, who feldom meddled with etymologies. But as some who have been but little conversant in enquiries of this fort, may imagine, that such supposed derivations of the names of our rivers, wherein we occasionally have recourse not only to the Welsh and Cornish, but also to the Irish, Erse, and Armoric, and in some instances even the Greek language,—are rather too far fetch'd; and tho' they may acknowledge some of them to be appellations receiv'd from the Britons whilst in possession of this county, and before their expulsion by K. Athelfan, yet may be apt to ask, with what propriety we ramble into Ireland or Scotland in quest of explications of Denonshire names; or consult the sages of ancient Greece on the denominations of places they never possess d? - It may be proper to observe, in answer to such objectors, - that the affinity of the Irish and British languages is taken notice of by Camden, who makes no doubt but that the first inhabitants of Ireland came from Britain; (2) and among other evidences of it, mentions the many British words in the Irish tongue, as also their ancient names which shew themselves to be of British extraction: In short, as Mr. Bosquell observes, (3) we are entirely obliged to the Irish language for the meaning of many words which are every-where found amongst us; from whence he concludes with Camden, that the Irifo were probably once inhabitants of this island, and went from hence to Ireland. But I presume, the agreement of British and Irish words and names, no more proves Ireland to be peopled from Britain, than Britain to be peopled from Ireland; especially if the Triff have preferv'd (as they certainly have) the use and fignification of many words which the Britons have loft." For the following etymologies, Mr. Chapple was chiefly indebted to Mr. Lewis of Honiton, and Mr. Boswell of Taunton, in a letter of his to Walter Oke, Esq. then of Whitlands, in Axmouth, Devon; which letter being in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Mallock of Colyton, he very obligingly favour'd me (fays Chapple) with the loan of it, at the request of my worthy friend Mr. Thomas Whitty of Axminster, to whom I am moreover obliged for many interesting observations relative to divers places in that neighbourhood, and the procurement of others from his friends, which will be duly attended to in the particular descriptions of those places; the present subject of our enquiry being the origin of the names of our rivers. The old British names of rivers, Asc, Isc, or Esc, Osc, Usc, and Uysc, (in Irish Uisge, Cornish Isge, Armoric Visge,) which all fignify water, were partly retain'd by the English Saxons; but for better found's sake, and perhaps from a dislike to the rough and guttural pronunciation of the Britishs, change into Ax, Ex, Ox, or Ouse, Ux and U/k. Besides the rivers which thus derive their names from British words which signify water or a river appellatively, there are others of a feeond class, whose names are compounded of British words expressive of some qualities of their water, the velocity or direction of the current, colour of their fand or gravel, &c. The names of those of a third class are either wholly of Saxon origin, or partly British and partly Saxon. - A fourth class of rivers are metaphorically denominated from the nature of the current only; of which we have also a few instances in Devon: -And lastly, others have no other names but those of the villages situated near them. Etymologists have mentioned other circumstances from which rivers take their names; but as these five ciasses include most, if not all those in this county, and which may on that account claim our notice, I shall here particularize

<sup>(1)</sup> See his Manchester, p. 218. (2) Gibson's Camd. p. 966, 967. (3) Boswell's Method of Study, vol. 1. p. 48.

particularize such of our Dewonshire rivers belonging to each, as have hitherto occurred to me, in alphabetical order; adding some observations, conjectures, and queries, relative to the etymologies of their names respectively. But that such of them as are of British derivation may be the better compared with their supposed originals, it may perhaps be acceptable to some of our readers (how-ever unnecessary for others) to be inform'd, in what respects the Welsh pronunciation of the vowels differs from ours. - Their A, as we learn from the Rev. Mr. Richards and other Welsh grammarians, is pronounced as A English in the word man; but is lengthen'd, by a circumflex, to the found of our a in ale, pale, &c. Their E, if acuted, as E English in men, ten, &c. in fome instances as e in err, aver, &c. and in others as ee in check; but if circumflex'd, as ea in the word league, or as e in feene, and fometimes as ea in fear, dear, &c. Their I, as our ee in tree, or as i in thing: Their O, as ours in the word gone; if circumflex'd, as o in bone: Their U, as our I in this, blifs, &c. and if circumflex'd, as our ee in queen, green, &c. Their W being also a vowel, and agreeing in sound as well as shape with the Greek Omega, is pronounc'd as o in the English pronoun who; but if circumflex'd, as oo in root, boot, &c. And their Y (which is likewise one of their vowels), in the Penultima, Antepenultima, &c. is founded as u in the English words turn, burn, &c. but in the ultima, or in monosyllables (with a very few exceptions), as in the English tin, skin, &c. and if circumflex'd, as ee in the English meck, seek, &c. - To these rules for pronouncing their vowels, we may add, that among the consonants their Dd has the sound of a hard Theta, or as the in the English thou and that; also that their F (being the Holic Digamma) has the found of our V consonant, but when doubled (Ff) is fosten'd into the found of our fingle F .- These extracts from the above-quoted author, and other writers on the British pronunciation, may suffice for our present purpose, without enlarging here on the various substitutions of one mutable consonant for another in that flexible language; tho' some instances of these may occur in our intended inquiries into the etymologies of the

names of our rivers respectively, to which we now proceed.

I. Of the first class, viz. of names of rivers derived from British words fignifying merely water or a river, this county affords us the following: Arme or Erme. Q. if Iar a river, (or perhaps only the prepositive article Yr) prefix'd to am, water? m in the Latin and ancient Celtic, according to Baxter, (1) making v in the British (or rather their f used instead of our v); so Am is the same as av, Unda vel Annis, Or Arme may possibly come from the Cornish Ara, slow, and am, water; but Q if this derivation can be justified by any remarkable tardity of its current? If so, this river belongs to the 2d class. Note, Ara in Gothic fignifies water, and Armor in Cornish a wave; but neither of these seems applicable here, unless we might suppose the former join'd with the British am, when it has the same signification .- Atrey, possibly Awy-ter-y the river of clear water, or clearawater river (fee Otter).—Avon, Aven, or Awn; Avon or Afon in British, fignifies a river, as already observ'd; as do also Avon and Avan or Awan in Cornish, and Avan or Abhan in Irish.—Awtre, see Otter .- Ax, from the old British Asc, which has been already shewn to signify water .- Deer, probably from the Cornish Deura, (a Drur, Br.) water; unless we suppose the Saxons call'd it Deor, from the swiftness of its current; and as such to be rank'd in the 3d or 4th class; but the former feems preferable. - Dowrish or Dogwich-Brook, possibly from Dwr, and the old British Ifc, or Irish Uifge. But if Dwr-ise be deem'd an unnecessary junction of two British words, both fignifying water, (tho' there may be some instances of the like in other names of rivers,) we may suppose it a compound of British and Saxon, and refer it to our 3d class: If so, Dror might have the addition of Ricg, a ridge, which not only fignified the ridge of a bill, but frequently (as we may have occasion elfewhere to observe) a rais'd military way; and this if Ricg be allowed a place here, is most likely to be its meaning, and that the brook having imparted its name with this addition, to Downich barton, which is water'd by it, might at length be imagined to have borrow'd that name from it; in like manner as will be hereafter observ'd concerning Sturcombe brook. What is here faid of Downich brook, is equally applicable to the Terridge or Tawridge, changing Dwr for Taw or Tau, or else the D in the former into T; these being occasionally commutable letters in the British or Welsh orthography.—Exe; from the old British Isc, Irish Uisge, signifying zvater as before observ'd.(2)—Forda (or as sometimes called Forder); doubtless from the Br. Fforda, a way or passage, with the addition of da, good; or else of av water, or the Irish dha a ford; denoting a shallow water, that admits of an easy passage through or over it; a fordable brock .- Leaver; from the Br. Llyr or Lbyr, water; for fo it fignified anciently, as well as the fea. (3)—Ludbrook and Lyd or Lid; perhaps from Clyd, a river or brook; (4) but if derived from Llid fury, or Lbuyd, Turbidus, (5) or the Irish Luarb, swift, or from the Saxon blydan, tumultuous or noify, they belong to the 2d or 3d class.—Lyff or Liff; probably from Llif, (Cornith Lyw, Armoric Lifat or Linfat,) a flux, flood or inundation, an overflowing of waters. -Lyn; Llyn, a lake, a pool in a river, and perhaps also a current. Note, rivulets are in Devon commonly call'd lakes.—Oldye; Q. if from Weilgi or Gweilgi, which in British fignifies a torrent as well as the sea? Its modern name, Shob-brook or Shobbrook-Lake, being of Saxon derivation, falls

<sup>(1)</sup> See Baxter's Gloffary, p. 222. Also Lluyd in Baxter, p 222.
(2) There are some, who derive Isca or Iscau from scauan, an elder tree—as the banks of the river Exe are said to have been once covered with elders.

<sup>(3)</sup> See Lluyd in Baxter, p. 266. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. p. 274.

under our 3d class, which see surther on.—Otter, or (as call'd in some old maps, &c.) Awtre; Came den's supposition that it took its name from the number of Water-Dogs call'd Otters sound in it (which supposes it Saxon), has been objected to, because this river is no more remarkable for these animals than any other; wherefore we may rather suppose (with the Rev. Mr. Lewis) its old name to be Y Dur, i.e. the water, which the old English Saxons, with little variation in the sound, afterwards call'd Otter: Or if its name should rather be spelt Awtre, Q. if it might not come from the British Aweddwr, which signifies running water, or fresh water? or else from Awy, an old British word for a river, and Ter, clean, pure, clear; and so mean (Awy ter) the clear river? Or if the Britons gave it a name expressive of that rapidity of its current which is observable in some places, it might possibly be some old Celtic word derived from the Greek 'Orgne's celer, impiger; on which, as well as on the two former suppositions, it should belong to our 2d class; and according to the last its name spelt Otrer, tho' the first r would be lost in pronunciation. Baxter (1) takes it to be Godre or Odre, a boundary, and fays, Ottery was formerly the limits of the Dunmonii or Danmonii; but others (as Dr. Borlase, &c.) think the river Exe was their boundary 'till K. Athelstan's time.—Stour or Stourcombe Brook; the Crumm or valley through which it runs, probably had its original name from it; the brook itself being call'd Stur or Stour, a name given to several other rivers, from Es dur saith Mr. Baxter, (2) which answers to the Cornish Es dour, the water: The valley being thus denominated Stour-Combe, and the origin of that compound being afterwards forgotten, it was used to distinguish the brook running through it. Instances of the like might be given in other rivers and places. See Dowrich.—Tamar and Tame already accounted for; supposing the former to be a compound of Tam (which Baxter (3) tells us signified in the old Celtic the same as av), and Mar, Mer or Mor, which, tho' when taken fingly they generally mean the fea, yet, in the compound names of rivers, fignify only water: But if, with Dr. Borlase (4) and Mr. Lewis, we suppose it to be rather Tammawr, the only water: But if, with Dr. Borlase (4) and Mr. Lewis, we suppose it to be rather Tammarur, the great river, as being the largest that passes thro' any part of Cornwall, to which it is for the most part a boundary), it then belongs to our 2d class.—Tavy; it has been before observed that Tauy, Teivi, &c. signify water or a river.—Taw; from Tav, of the same signification with Tauy, &c. ut supra.—Teign (or as commonly pronounced Ting); may be the same as Tain, an old British word for a river; or rather perhaps derived from Teg, fair clear, pretty, &c. and Afon, a river, contracted into Aun; so Teg aun (since shorten'd into Tegan or Teign) denotes a fair or clear river, and so claims place in our 2d class. Either of these seems preferable to Baxter's Isc tene, or Tenisca, i.e. Tenuis aqua; (5) for the Teign is far from being a small slender stream.—Tenny or Tinny; perhaps from Tain, a river, or rather from Tenau, slender, with the addition of y, water; it being but a small and inconsiderable brook, at least 'till it unites with the Thrushel: But if this last be right, this also should be rank'd in the 2d class.—Wone (more commonly call'd Wondford Brook); from this also should be rank'd in the 2d class.—Wone (more commonly call'd Wondford Brook); from Ason or Avon, Cornish Awan or Auan, a river; contracted into Wan, or Wone.—Yeo, Yeau, or Yeav, (the name of several rivers or brooks in this county and essewhere, and frequently of farms which adjoin them,) fignifies water; agreeable to the French Eau which the Normans (if they introduced it here at the conquest instead of Saxon Ea) seem to have pronounced E-au or Yeau; to which the old British av, uy, eu, (and we may add the Cornish Ave, and avy,) seem to answer; all which as well as the Gothic Ara, the Islandic and modern Swedish Aa, (6) and the Saxon Ea above mentioned, fignify water or a river. We also learn that Mr. o Halleran's Antiquities of Ireland that Aba in Irish is a ford; and indeed it is chiefly to such small brooks as are fordable that the name Yeq (in Devonsbire at least) is generally given.

II. We come now to the Devonshire rivers of the second class, viz. such whose Brinsh names express some quality of their waters, or circumstances relative to them; and among these (besides the Arme, Lud, Lyd, Otter, Tamar, Teign, and Tenny, above taken notice of as of the former class, but some of them, as there hinted, perhaps more properly belonging to this;) the following may here claim our examination.—Beera or Beera-brook; perhaps from the Cornish and Armoric Bera, to glide or flow; unless it may be rather derived from the Saxon Beora a growe or plantation of trees, and so mean a brook passing by or through some remarkable wood or grove; which supposition, if justified by its situation, would intitle it to a place in our 3d or 5th class.—Cary; possibly from Garr, the ham, the bending or bowing of the knee, and uy or y water; so Garr-y, in pronunciation soften'd into Cary, might mean the knee-bent water or bending stream; and such a bending this river really has, after its arrival at Aspevater in its course from Beavworthy; near which last, the old maps, as well as our author, place the head of its stream: But if its derivation from Carog (in Cornish Karrog) signifying a brook or river, be thought preferable, it should have place among those of the former class.—Cater-brook or Katerbrook, more commonly called Cate-brook, and by some Katherine brook; perhaps its true derivation may be from the Br. Caeth, narrow; and so Caeth or Cate-brook may mean the narrow brook.—Creedy; or perhaps antiently Cridian, since the Saxons call'd Crediton, which had its name from it, Cridiantune; Q. if derived from Grydian or Crydian, murmuring? So Crydian-y might denote the murmuring-fream, and be afterwards contracted to Crydny and Creedy. Or it might come from Cryd-y, the trembling or dimpling water; or from Crwydr, wandering; but the former seems most probable.

<sup>(1)</sup> See his Gloffary, p. 187. (2) ibid. p. 110. (3) ibid. p. 28 & 132. (4) Cor. voc. in Antiq. of Cornw. p. 456, (5) Baxt. Glof. p. 220, (6) Vid. Dia. Illandicum Hickefii.

probable. - Claw; possibly from the Br. Clau, fast or swift; or the Saxon Clough a Cleft. - Class; (r) we find mis-spelt Cliffe by Speed and others, and in most of our old maps. But its true spelling is certainly Clift or Clyft, agreeably to its constant pronunciation. I take it to be derived from the Irish or Guydhelian British Leasg, slothful, sluggish; which was also the ancient signification of the Welsh Llesg, now used to signify feeble, negligent, &c. and with cil prefix'd, denotes a feeble flight, a flow retreat, &c. Hence the dull sluggish current of this river Clyst might well take its name; its flux being very flow, and almost standard in some places. - Cherry-Brook in Dartmoor; (from the Br. Sirian, a cherry;) doubtless so call'd from the cherry-colour with which the reddish gravel and soil of its bed (visible enough in a funshining day) feems to tinge its transparent Aream .- Cole or Coly; Q. if not derived from Chwyl a rolling or revolving? Culm; probably so called from the Cornish Cylm, swift, rapid; which is agreeable to the general rapidity of its current.—Derle; perhaps from Drur, water, and ial, pleasant; the pleasant or agreeable water: Or if, instead of ial, the Cornish bel, a river, be thought more eligible, it becomes Drur-bel, the river of water, and belongs to the former class.—Glaze in the British and Armoric Glas signifies blue, pale, green and gray; and this river was probably so denominated from the colour reflected from its waters; whether from the azure tinge of its smooth stream in a calm clear day, or the obscurer gray of its ruffled waves in windy and cloudy weather.—Goutsford; perhaps from the Br. Chwydd, swelling, and Fford, a way or passage; and so may mean a ford or passable brook, but liable to swell and overflow, as most small ones quickly do after great rains.—Grindle; possibly a compound of the Br. Crawn, a stoppage or obstruction, and Dal which also signifies to binder or stop: Hence perhaps the Saxon Grindle, which likewise signifies an obstruction or bindrance; and the brook seems to have had this name from its being frequently render'd unpaffable, by its own inundations as well as those of the river Clyst into which it discharges itself, which often obstruct travellers in the road from Bishop's Clyst to Clyst St. George, &c. even fince the erection of the bridge called Grindle bridge; and to prevent accidents, they are now warned of their danger in time of floods, by graduated posts fixt at proper places to shew the depth, pursuant to the late Highway Acts. This seems to justify our supposed etymology of the name of this brook; otherwise we might rather derive it from the Irish Ghrinnioll, the channel of a river .- Ken; probably from the Br. Cain, which not only fignifies white, fair, or beautiful, but also, according to Llbuyd, (z) Limpidus, clarus, illimis; and so this river might take its name from its clear limpid stream; at least this seems more likely than any derivation from the British Cefn, or the Irish Ceann or Keann, fignifying the bead or upper part of a thing; which Mr. Baxter (I think wrongly) applies to Kenton, whose Roman name he takes to be Vercenia, deducing it from nar kend iu, i. e. super capite unda; and then supposes this river to take its name from it, whereas the river doubtless gave name to it, as well as to the parish of Kon, which being nearest its head might be more truly said to be super capite undæ; than Kenton; tho' this be indeed, as he explains it, prope amnem.—Lemmon; Q. if from Llymn or Llyss (Br.) a lake or meer, a stagnant water, and asson, awan or awn, a river, and so denoting the sluggish or stagnant river? Or perhaps rather from Llymn (or its plural Llymnan) asson a stagnant or stagnant river? from Llam (or its plural Llammau) afon, a stone or stones in a river to step over; for such this shallow and fordable brook has, in one or more places (if I am rightly inform'd) and this not far above its bridge; particularly where it is cross'd by a foot-path between that part of Newton call'd Newton Abbot and the other part call'd Newton-Bushel, the former being in the parish of Wolberough and the latter in Highweek, to which two parishes this stream is for the most part a common boundary.—Loman or Lumman. This name of the river which discharges itself into the Exe at Tiverton, is, according to our author, comparatively modern; for he tells us its ancient name was Suning: But whether Suning or Lumman were its most ancient name, they having much the same fignification, it might be known at different times, or by different people, by both or either of those names; Lumman being probably derived from Llymn and avon or avon, meaning a flow or fluggift river; and Suning perhaps a compound of Syn, dull, uy, water, and ing or yng, narrow: So Synnmy-ing might mean the narrow, dull, or flow water; which is agreeable to the tardity of its current, it being (if I am rightly inform'd) no-where rapid, but its flux in general remarkably flow.-Marles; perhaps as Marlas, a river in Caermarthensbire, from Mar, water, (3) and Allavys or arlloes, poured out, cleanfed or purified: Or as Morlas, which according to Lluyd (4) fignifies Aqua carulea, the sky-coloured water.—Matford-brook, which separates Alphington from Exeter; Mat, as well as Med or Mad, according to Mr. Whitaker (5) (tho' he mentions not in what dialect of the British) signifies fair; and if so, this with the addition of Ffordd (denoting the way or passage through it, where now a stone bridge is also made) may fignify the fair ford. Mad also in the old British fignified good, beneficial, &c. and Baxter says, (6) Mat in the Armoric signifies Bona atque Divitia, goods and riches.—Meavy or Mevy; possibly from Mwy, enlarged or augmented, and uy, water. This brook, after it leaves Dartmoor, is increased by another rill from thence, which comes down from that part of the forest where Siward's cross stood; with which being united, it is call'd

<sup>(1)</sup> The Clyft fignifies properly in the British language, the ear : And the curve which this river forms in its course, much refembles the human ear. The British word Leafg, dull, slothful, has little refemblance to Clyst in found; though its meaning answers to the fluggish current of the river.

<sup>(2)</sup> Lluyd in Baxt. p. 274. (3) ibid. p. 266. (4) ibid. p. 274. (6) Baxt. Gl. p. 172. (5) Manchester, p. 219. Baxt. Gl. p. 162.

Meany water, at least 'till it also joins that stream which comes down from Eylisburrow, and which has its confluence therewith not far from Meny Church, if it be not also so call'd lower down, before it takes the name of Plym; of which last Mr. Donn's map makes it a principal branch, tho' omitting its name, and taking no notice of the rill from Sieward's cross abovementioned .- Moule or Mole: As this river has no subterraneous passage, like the river Mole in Surry, to justify its taking its name from the animal so call'd, Q. whether it might not be some old British or Celtic word derived from Muλλ@, i.e. curvus, tortuofus; and fo have its name from the crookedness or turnings and windings of its channel? Or if the British Mwl, or Saxon Mul, a Mule, be rather preferr'd, (fince rapid rivers, such as this is, sometimes have their names from swift-sooted animals,) it then more properly belongs to our 4th class. - Nadder-Water; probably so call'd from its abounding with water-snakes; for Neidr in Welfb, and Naddyr or Nadar in Cornifb, fignify an adder or Inake, and Neidr y dwr a water-Inake.—Ock, may possibly be from Osc (water) as has been already observed, the s being lost in a rapid pronunciation, which would rank it in the 1st class; but more probably from Aweb, fignifying vigour, liveliness, vehemency; which is very applicable to that river Ock which gives name to Okebampton; but whether it be equally so to a river of the same name near Abingdon in Berkshire, I know not. But here are two separate streams, the Ocks or Ockment (the plural of Ock). Is it not remarkable that Oczakow, remote as it is, corresponds with Ockhampton in its fituation on the Ocks ?-Ot-brook; Q. if from the Irish At or bat, agreeing with the British buedb, a swelling (and this perhaps derived from oldew tumeo)? If so, it means the fwelling brook; and this may possibly be preferable to its derivation from od, excellent.—Plym; Baxter (1) derives it from Pilim, which in the Erse or old Scotobrigantine Irish, he says, still signifies volvere to roll; and thinks the Pilais of the anonymous Ravennas should be writ Pilmis, or Pilim ifc, i. e. convolvens aqua, the rolling water, denoting the impetuofity of its current. But Q? - Rakern brook rifes in the forest of Dartmoor, and falls into the Tavy, not far above Mary Tavy: Another such brook runs by, and gives name to, the parish of Rackenford in this county, anciently spelt Rakerneford, and in Domesday Book Racheneforde: Being both but small ones, the name may possibly be derived from Rhegain, to murmur, mutter, or whisper, and so mean the murmuring brook.-Redford or Reddaford; perhaps from the British and Armoric Rhudd (whence the English-Saxon red), red or ruddy; this brook being remarkable for the reddish colour with which its waters are tinged by the stones and gravel in its bed (as before observ'd in Cherry-brook), and Ffordd, the ford or passage through it. Note also, Rbyd, both in Welsh and Cornish, fignifies a ford.—Redlake; possibly the first syllable of this may have the same meaning as in the last, and so want no surther explanation; for lake, in Devenshire land guage (as has been already hinted) commonly means a small brook or rivulet. Or if its colour should not justify its borrowing this name from thence, it may be from the Br. Rhedeg, to run or flow; (thus Dwr rhedegog is running water:) Or else from Rhuad, roaring, if this torrent be really remarkable for its noise and rapidity; but query as to this?—Tale; Q. if from Tav-ial, the pleasant stream.

—Thrushel; Q. if from Dwr, water, and Osgle a branch? Or rather Dwr-is-tyle, the water below the steep ascent of a hill?—Waldon; perhaps from Gwawl, light, clear; and either Dwfn (or Doun, Armoric) deep; or else Davon, or as shorten'd Daun, which, as Baxter (2) informs us, fignified in the old British, Amnis, a river or brook, and if so, Grvarvl-daun or Waldon means the clear river or limpid stream .- Wever; in British probably Uy-aber, compounded of Uy, water, and aber which properly fignifies the fall of a leffer water into a greater, as that of the Wever into the Culm; but as we learn from Mr. Richards, (3) Aber is in North-Wales used for any brook or fiream whatever, and if fo, this river belongs rather to our 1st class: In the old Cornish also, it signified the meeting of two rivers; but sometimes a ford, and also the mouth of a river. See Dr. Borlase's Cornish Vocabulary. Wotes-brook; possibly from the Cornish Huedbyz, swoln; or rather Huedb, a swelling, with the addition of ise water; the swelling water. (See Ot-brook.)—But as this rivulet rises in Dartmoer, (at the boundary of which forest it falls into the Teign) and might be supposed to be form'd by melted fnow from the hills there, Q. if its derivation from od which fignifies falling fnow, with the addition of isc, water, may not be preferable to the former?—Yall, or Yaall brook; perhaps from ial, pleasant, and so means the pleasant brook; but if it be from the Cornish Hail, Heil, Hel, or Heyle, a river or brook, it more properly belongs to our 1st class .- Yalm or Yealm; Q. if from Yeau or Eu, water, and Llimp, smooth? the smooth water.—Yamer; perhaps from Ial, pleasant, and Mor or Mer water; if so, it should rather be spelt Yalmer, but the I melts away in pronunciation.—Yarty; Q. if from the old British Iar or Iear, a river, and teg, fair, clear, pretty? So Iar teg, shorten'd into Yarty, denotes the fair and clear river.

III. Having thus particularized those Devonsbire rivers whose names belong to our 1st and 2d classes respectively, we come now to those of the third, viz. those which are either wholly of Saxon origin, or partly British and partly Saxon; with which we may also rank such as have Roman names with Saxon terminations, or the contrary: Of this class (besides those already referr'd to it), this County affords us the following.—Batherm, perhaps a compound of the Saxon Bath, Balneum, and the Latin word for bot baths, Thermæ (a Despus calidus); and possibly, as the Romans seem to have

had a station at or near Bampton, which is situated on, and takes its name from this river, they might also have artificial hot baths near it, and supplied with water from it.—Bourn or Burn; Sax. Burn, signifying a torrent, brook, or river; also a watery ditch.—Cran-brook; probably from the old British Crain, to fall down, roll, tumble, and the Saxon Broza a brook or torrent. This rivulet gives name to a farm in Moretonbampstead, near which it rises, and falls precipitately into the TeigneDalch or Dalk; Sax. Dalc, recula, a small matter or thing; so Dalc-broca may signify a small or inconfiderable brook, as this really is.—Deanburn; Sax. Dæne-burn, the torrent in the valley.—Long-brook; Sax. Lange-broca, needs no explanation.—Lumburn; perhaps from the Br. Llynn or Lynne, a lake or pool in a river, and the Sax. burn, a brook, or watery ditch; and so may mean a brook that has fuch pools or stagnant waters in it.—Pullabrook; from the Sax. Pul, or Br. Pwll, a pool, pit; or ditch, and Broca a brook. It receives a small rill called Reddiford.—Shob-brook; possibly Shot-brook, and so called either from the swiftness of its current, or from its abounding with a sort of trouts, in some parts of this county called shots: which derivation seems preferable to either Shoes brook or Short-brook. This brook doubtless gave name to the parish of Shobbrook thro' which it runss but being afterwards supposed to take its name from it, is now commonly call'd Shobbrook Lake. See its other name, Oldye, explain'd among those of the 2d class.—Silver Brook; so call'd from the colour or reflection of its water.—Small-brook; Sax. Smæl-broca; the propriety of this name is not less evident than its meaning, it being indeed a very small brook.—Tedbourn Brook; Q. if from the Br. Tywod, fand, and the Sax. Burn, a brook or river? So Tywodburn shorten'd into Tedburn may mean the Sand-brock: Or it may be compounded of Tuth, a trotting or jogging pace, if agreeable to the motion of its current, and Burn as before. It runs into the Culverley, and is more likely to have given its name to the parish of Tedburn St. Mary, which is water'd by it, than to have derived its name from it.—Torridge, Touridge, Tavridge, or Turridge; possibly from the British Davr, water, and the British is or Irish uisge, which also signify water. — Ug-brook; probably from the Saxon Wog, curvus; so Wog-broca may mean the crooked, bending, or serpentine brook. This rivulet runs by, and gives name to, the feat of Lord Clifford, in the parish of Chudleigh.—Walbrook or Wallabrook and Wellabrook; from the Sax. Weal, vertex aquarum, or else from Wælla, fons: Brooks coming immediately from their fountain, and not yet joined with any other; and such those in Dartmoor so called, really are, but lofe their names at their influx into the Dart and Avon respectively .- Waspburn; either the old British Uysc or Irish Uisge, water; or else, Bais or Vais (the B and V being commutable letters), a ford or shallow place capable of a foot passage; with the addition of the Sax. Burn, a river.—Wishford; the first syllable of this, may have the same derivation as the last, with the addition of ford, a ford or passable brook. The same may be applied to that part of Dalk brook which gives name to the parish of Washford Para it being there indeed United Floral as ford or passage. which gives name to the parish of Washford Pyne, it being there indeed Uyse-Ffordd, a ford or passable water .- Womburn; perhaps from the Saxon and old English Wealm, to walm or break forth as from a fountain; and Burn, a river: If fo, it should be spelt Walmburn .- Wrixel; possibly from the Saxon Wrixle, viciffitude, an alternate change or mutation; perhaps from its swelling after every shower, and in the intervals reduced to a small rivulet: But Q.

IV. It now remains to take notice of those few rivers in this county which belong to our 4th and 5th classes, and have not been already specified. Of the 4th, viz. such as are metaphorically denominated from the nature of their currents only, I know of none but have their names either from fome bird or swift-footed animal, or else from some missile weapon, to denote their velocity; of which we have the following instances .- Chackerel; Q. if not derived from the Br. Chwai, fwift, fpeedy, quick; and Ciryll, a sparrow-hawk? - Culverly; probably from Culfre, a dowe or pidgeon (for which the country-people in Devon still retain the Saxon appellation Culver), with the addition of bel (Cornish) a river, and uy, water: So Culverly might be originally Culfre-bel uy, the dove-like river of water; and be so call'd (as is the Dove in Staffordsbire) from a comparison of the swiftness of its stream to that of the flight of a dove. - Dart; this in the Welfb and Armoric has the same fignification as the English, a dart, and sometimes an arrow; and this river (as well as the Arrow which runs thro' part of Worcestershire and Warwickshire) was doubtless so call'd from the swiftness of its current. The chief river (for there are two or three others) of this name in Devenshire, rises in and gives name to Dart-Moor; and, in its course, to Dartington, and Dartmouth, where it difcharges itself into the ocean. Probably its Roman name was Darium; and the Durio Amne, in the itinerary of Ricardus Corinensis, (as Dr. Borlase supposes,) should be Dario amne, and meant the paffage over the Dart near Afbburton.—Harburn; probably Hare-burn, the Hare-brook; the swiftness of its current being compared to that of a bare.—Harford Brook; Sax. Hare-ford, a rivulet that runs into Tedburn brook: This ford doubtless derives its name from the same origin as the last.—Sidde, or Syd; probably from the British Saeth, an arrow; and if so, we cannot doubt but it had this name for the reason above given for that of Dart. - Wolf; Sax. Wulf. This little river, the velocity of whose current claims a name from that swift footed animal, passes by Awliscombe and Buckerell,

and falls into the Otter.

V. Lastly, although it may be taken for a general rule, that where rivers and places take their same from each other, the derivations of the latter from the former are, for the most part, to be preferr'd to those of the former from the latter; since the rivers existed, and perhaps had distinctive appellations, before any towns were built on or near them; yet there are some instances of rivers Vol. I.

of the one and the other. From the Phenicians are deduced, also, the names of our towns, by many who reject the idea of a Phenician colony. (a) Sammes, (b) and others, derive Caerisk (c) and other names of Exeter from the Phenician. Hartavia or Hertland, doubtless comes from the Phenician Hercules. (d) In trade, the Phenicians were the

which having loft their ancient names (if they ever had any), have borrow'd their modern ones from the towns or villages by which they flow: Among these, which are here distinguished as a Fifth class, we have in this county, the Hayne, Holwell-Brook, Priaton-Brook, and perhaps some sew others." Chapple.

(a) A colonial rather than a mercantile connexion feems to be implied in the following paragraph: " Tria promuntoria, Helenis scilicet, Ocrinum, et K ξιε μείωπον, ut et nomina civitatum (such as Termolus and Artavia) GRECAM PHENICIAMQUE originem redolentia." Richard, p. 21.

(b) "When I confidered, fays Sammes in the preface to his Britannia, what Leland writeth of the British or Welch language, namely, that the main body of it confisteth of Hebrew and Greek words, I began to reflect with myself, how it should come to pass that the ancient Britains could have any commerce with the Jews, who were never known to fend out colonies, and of all people in the world were most fond of their own country; certainly I concluded, this could proceed from no other root but the commerce of the Phænicians with this nation, who using the same language with the children of Israel in Canaan, even in those primitives were great traders and skilful mariners, and fent out their colonies through the world; and this Mr. Cambden himself touches on, where he gives the derivation of the British Caer Eske, now Exeter. For Caer, to tell you once for all (says he) with our Britains is as much as to fay, a city, whereupon they used to name Jerusalem, Caer Salem, Lutetia or Paris, Caer Paris, Rome, Caer Russaine. Thus Carthage in the Punick tongue was called, as Solinus witnesseth, Cartheia, that is, the new city. I have heard likewise that Caer in the Syriack tongue fignified a city. Now feeing that the Syrians, as all men confess, peopled the whole world with their colonies, it may feem probable that they left their tongue also to their posterity, as the mother of all future languages .- What can be more plain than this; and yet this is but one example of ten thousand; but I hope that in the following discourse I have plainly made out, that not only the name of Britain itself, but of most places therein of ancient denomination are purely derived from the Phænician tongue, and that the language it selse for the most part, as well as the customes, religions, idols, offices, dignities, of the ancient Britains are all clearly Phænician, as likewise their instruments of war, as slings, and other weapons, their fithed chariots, and their different names, and several distinctions. Out of the same tongue I have illustrated several monuments of antiquity found out and still remaining in Britain, which can no other waies be interpreted, than in the Phœnician tongue, where they have a plain, easie, and undeniable fignification. And as to that concordance which was between the ancient Britains and Gauls in point of language and fome other customes, I have shewn that it proceeded not from hence, that they were the same people, but from joynt commerce with the Phænicians."

(c) The Britons called Exeter, among other names, Kaerpenbuelgoit, or "the chief city in the wood; as appears by Geoffry of Monmouth. It was also called Penneheltecaire or the chief city on the bill. The Cornist very lately called Exeter by the ancient names of Pennecaire, Caireruth, and Cairiske. Pennecaire signifies the chief city; Caireruth the red city, from the red soil on which it is situated, and Cairiske the city of Iske, or the river Exe, in British Iske.—" This citty now the object of your fight, and the emporium of these western partes is very pleasantly seated on a hill (gently arifing among hills with an easy ascent.) and therefore called Penchayr the head cyttie, Penhaltcayr the principall or chiefe citie on a hill. It declines towardes the south west parte after such a manner that be the streets never so ffoule, yet with one shower of raine they are presently clean-

fed and made facet, as is fung of Hierusalem,

For one fayre ffloud doth fend abroad His pleafant streames apace, To fresh the citty of our God And wash his holy place.

That it hath bin antiently called Corinia or Corinea is very apparent; but that it had its denomination from Corineus who vpon his arrivall with Brutus into this land was first created Duke of these

two provinces, I cannot averr; for I haue it not vpon such warrant as I dare trust;—for Circester was also of Ptolomye called Corinium yet not from Corineus." Westcate, p. 73.

(d) "Not much distant from Hertye Poynt, or Hercules Promontory; which to derive down from Hercules that renowned tyrant-queller, would require more time and labour then I can well affoard, yet for that divers will have it foe: I will deliver the opinion of a much better man, even the dictator of knowledge Reverend Mr. Cambden, who I hope will yield them fatisfaction to contentment, if not I confess I cannot. Ffrom Cornwall the first shoare in this shire (saith hee) that ftretcheth out it selse in length towards the Severn sea is by Ptolomye called the Promontorie of Hercules, & retayneth still some little smack of the name being at this day called Hertye Poynt: and hath in it two prettie towns Herton & Hertland famous in elder times for the reliques of that holy

first to give names. Observing our tin in its native bed, they called it (a) steam or the mud. And it is afferted, that the British manner of fighting, the names of their war-chariots, and of their weapons of war, were all of Phenician origin—such as Covin, Esseda. (b) This much for the British-Phenician of Danmonium.

The

man St. Nectan: in honour of whome was here erected a little Monasterye, by Githa wife of Earle Goodwine, who had this St. Nectan in especiall reverence: for that shee was persuaded, that for his meritts her husband had escaped the danger of shipwrack, in a most violent & dangerous tempest: howbeit afterwards the Dynants (now Dynhams) that came out of Bryttaine in Ffrance (whose demessies in fee it was) were accounted the founders thereof. The name of the Promontorie hath giuen credit to a very formal tale, that Hercules forfooth came hither into Brytaine & here vanquished I wot not what gyants: but if it bee true that Mythologers (or expounders of moral tales) tell vs & affirme that there was neuer any Hercules; but that by him the power of human wisdome is vnderstood; whereby wee overcome pride, lust, envye, theft, & other such like monsters: Or if according to the divinitie of the Gentiles, by Hercules they mean the funn, & by those 12 labours endured and performed by Hercules, the 12 figns in the Zodiack, which the fun in his yearly course passeth through: what it is they say let them look to it themselues: but for my owne part I willingly believe there was an Hercules; nay I could bee content to grant with Varro, that there were of them 43, all whose acts were ascribed to that Hercules who was the son of Alkmena: yet can I not persuade myselfe that ever an Hercules came hither; vnless happily hee came sayling here over the ocean in that cup that god Nereus gaue him whereof Athenius maketh mention. But you will say that Ffranciscus Philelphus in his episties & Lullius Gireldus in his Hercules aver noe less: I pray you pardon me, these late writers may move but not remove mee; considering that Diodorus Siculus who went on with the Greekish Historye in order, even from the most remote & first records of all antiquitye, in playn terms affirmeth, that neither Hercules nor father Bacchus went ever into Brytaine. I am therefore veryly perfuaded, that the name of Hercules came to this place, either through the vanity of the Greekes; or from the superstitious religion of the Brytaines: for as these being most warlike nations themselves, had valiant men in marveilous estimation & admiration, and highly wonderd at fuch as conquerd monsters; soe the Greekes againe, whatsoever was any where stately & magnificent, that they referred to the glory of Hercules. And because hee had been a great traueller, fuch as travelled were wont to offer facrifices to him, and to him likewife did confecrate the places of their arrivalls: hereof came Hercules Rock in Campania; Hercules Haven in Lyguria; Hercules Grove in Germanie; hence likewise the Promontories of Hercules in Mauritania, Galacia, & Brytaine. Well, what Hercules foever hee bee, wee are escap't his fingers and clubb, and are cleer of him." Westcote, p. 160, 161.

(a) Whence the Cornu-british steam, of the same meaning. Pryce.

(b) But these are Chaldaic words: and they were used in Danmonium before the existence of our Phenician colony. The Phenician, indeed, was derived from the Chaldee, in common with the aboriginal British, the trish, and the Erse. The affinity of the Phenician with the Irish is proved, beyond all controversy, by Vallancey, who hath given us a specimen of the Punic, (1) curiously collated with the Irish. A part of this collection is as follows:

Punic.

" Nyth al o nim ua lonath ficorathiffi me com fyth.

Irifb.

N'faith all o nimh uath lonnaithe! focruidhse me com fith.

O mighty Deity of this country, powerful, terrible! quiet me with rest.

Punic.

Chim lach chunyth mum ys tyal mychi barii im schi.

Irifb.

Chimi lach chuinigh! muini is toil, mìocht beiridh iar mo feith.

A support of weak captives; be thy will to instruct me to obtain my children,

Punic.

Lipho can ethyth by mithii ad ædan binuthii.

Trifb.

Liomhtha can ati bi mitche ad eadan beannaithe.

Let it come to pass that my earnest prayers be blessed before thee.

Punic.

Byr nar ob fyllo homal o nim! ubymis ifyrthoho.

Irifb.

Bior nar ob filadh umhal; o nimh! ibhim a frotha.

A fountain denied not to drop to the humble; O Deity, that I may drink of its streams."

In this manner several other Punic lines are collated with the Irish; and bear the same resemblance to it.

(1) From the Pænulus of Plautus.

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The third stage of the Danmonian language, may be faid to commence with the Greek As the Greeks extremely plumed themselves on their language, and were studious to diffeminate the knowledge of it, there are many who think, that, even as a mercantile people, they left the more cultivated Danmonians in possession at least of the rudiments of their tongue. That a great number of Greek words were incorporated with the language of Danmonium, may be clearly shewn.(a) The names of (b) Britain itself; of the (c) Casiterides; of several (d) promontories and (e) rivers in Danmonium; as well as towns and yillages, are attributed to the Greeks. But the numerous (f) Greek words

(a) "Mr. Boswell afferts, that the British language bears a greater resemblance to the Greek, than any other whatfoever; and that there are more Greek words incorporated with it than there are Latin; from which, and other circumstances, he thinks it evident that a colony of Greeks were once here, and lived some time amongst us. Camden seems also to favour the opinion that the Greeks landed in and had some knowledge of this island; being supposed to have had colonies and plantations along the sea coast in most parts of Europe, Britain not excepted; or, according to Sir Thomas Smyth's supposition as quoted by him, that a great number of them fled hither for safety, when all Europe was embroil'd in war: However, he seems elsewhere partly to retract this, and gives it as his opinion that it was late before the name of the Britons was heard of, either by the Greeks or Romans. But whether we had any Greeks here or not, the mixture of Greek words in the British language, is a fact which Camden admits, and will hardly be denied." Chapple.

(b) See derivation of the names of Britain. Borlase's Antiqu. p. 3, 4, 5.

(c) The Greeks called the Scilly Isles Cassiterides. Sammes, p. 73.
(d) There were promontories in the Taurica Chersonesus, and in the island of Crete, which the Greeks called Keiou μείωπα. In the same manner we have the promontory of Keiou μείωπον, which I take to be the Ram-Head Point. Helenis Promontorium was also a Greek promontory.

(e) The Clyft, for instance, derived, perhaps, from λισσος, it being a gently-flowing stream-or from κλυζω, not only because it overflows the marshes every spring-tide to a large extent, but also because (the country lying much upon a flat) the land floods, even in summer, frequently deluge

the meadows for many miles together,

(f) "The foot-steps of the Greek language are evidently seen not only in particular British words, which agree in found and fence, but in the very nature and idiom of the two languages. Some are of opinion, that the Greek characters were used in Britain, and that they were changed by the Roman conquerors, who alwaies were very careful to obtrude their language upon them whom they overcame, as a certain fign of dominion over them, and a furer union with fuch prowinces; and this I am apt to credit, because Casar, after the conquest of the Helwetii, found their public records written in Greek characters. The ancient Greeks had but two and twenty letters, no more had the Britains, and as afterwards the Greeks, for conveniency, did receive two more into their alphabet, so have the Britains. Moreover, it is to be observed, that the British letters agree exactly in found with the Greek, as is most remarkable in c and g (not to instance in d and u) which c and g are alwaies pronounced by the Britains, as x, and y, and not as now they are before i and e, where c is pronounced like an s, and g like an j confonant. Of wowels, the Britains had anciently fix, now they have added a feventh, viz. a w, but this relishes of the Teutonick. Their confonants, after the manner of the Greeks, are divided into semi-ocales and mutas, and these again into tenues medias and aspiratas, which, in the flexion of nouns and verbs, pass one into another exactly after the Greek manner. R, in the beginning of words, is alwaies with an aspirate, as it is in the Greek tongue; out of which observations in the British and Greek language, I would note these things. First, that the Druids of Britain and Gaul, by the number of letters having only twenty two, as may rationally be supposed, after the manner of the ancienter Greeks, came into Britain very early, when the Greeks had not as yet learnt the use of their other letters, or if they had, notwithstanding they were not frequently known among them. Secondly, the Druids, using the same characters which were common in Greece, in the time of Julius Cæsar, it appears, that neither were they of so ancient a standing in this island and Gaul, as the first and primitive times of Greece, when the Greeks learnt their letters from the Phænicians, and without doubt something nigh their character. Besides, Pliny observes, out of an ancient inscription in the Greek tongue, that formerly the Gracians had very nigh the same characters with the Latins; and if I be not mistaken, did write an H instead of their aspiration, after the manner of the Phanician; and if the Phanicians did not themselves bring the use of letters, and the number of them into Britain, but contented themselves with trading only hither, yet I am fure the Gracians had not only the first number of their letters from them, but characters also, and as may be very rationally conjectured, might bring them into this island, after they had new modelled them, and before they had added any new ones to them. The true attaining to the just circumstances of time, as to the navigations of the Phanicians and Gracians, makes much to the stating of the antiquities of Britain. But care must be had, that as we bring not the Greeks too early into

in the Danmonian language, very little altered by their transplantation into it, would be sufficient to throw an air of probability over the supposition of a Greek settlement at the

these islands, as by the more modern characters they used, do appear, so we must not assign the time, too late, of their discovering them, which their long settled customes in Britain, the great esteem they had gained with the islanders, the very idiom of the Greek language introduced, and their religious ceremonies and rites, though never so cruel, allowed and approved by the whole state, argues them of a very ancient standing in these parts, and that not suddenly, but by long use, and against much opposition, they were at last admitted and entertained. Seeing we have here spoken of the concordance of the British tongue with the Greek idiom, it will not be much out of the way, if we take notice, that as the number of their letters agree exactly with the Phænicians, though we will not suppose them to have received them immediately from the Phænicians but the Græcians, so there are a world of words in the British language, which agree exactly with the Syrian or Phænician tongue; for, I verily believe, that the extream number of aspirations, and guttural pronunciations, were peculiar to no western nation, but only the Britains of Armorica, and Wales, and the Irish (which may well be supposed to be peopled out of Britains, or else to have been traded unto by the Phænicians themselves) is an evident sign of the Phænicians once conversing in these islands; for it is to be observed that the eastern languages, and that they as well as the Greeks, contributed much to the making up of that language which was used here in Cæsars daies, and since, the mixture of the Saxon, Roman, and Norman tongues, only excepted. But to returu to the Greeks, besides the peculiar conformity of idiom, which the Britains have of their language in general with the Græcians, it is to be observed, that the numerals of both nations are most the sample, I will set down in order.

British.	Greek,	English,
Un,	"Ev,	One.
Date; Armorican, Dote,	$\Delta \dot{v} \omega$ ,	Two.
Tri.	Teers,	Three.
Pedwar,	Térlages; Æol. Hérlages,	Four.
Dump, Armo. Demp.	Πέντε, Πέμτίω,	Five.
Chuech, Armo. Quech,	"Εξ,	Six.
Saith.	Emlà,	Seven.
With, Armo. Eith,	'Οπτω,	Eight.
Maw,	Έννέα,	Nine.
Deg,	Δέκα,	Ten.
Un ar deg,	"Evdena,	Eleaven.
Deuddeg,	Δώδεκα,	Twelve.
Ugain,	"Е і коої,	Twenty.
Cant,	Έκατὸν,	A Hundred.
juil.	Xilias,	In the Latin Mille, a Thousand.
Mayrdd.	Mueias.	A Million.

Most of these may be easily supposed to come from the Greek; if we consider how variously that language alters the letters of foreign words it receives. And if any think, that some of these may better be referred to the Romans than Græcians, as Un, Dam, Tri, Tant and Dil, I shall answer them in Mr. Sheringham's words, That besides these so like the Greek numerals, the Britains have no other to express themselves by. But if these words were lately introduced, it behowed that the old terms should have remained in their writings, as the Old Saxon and Latin words, though out of use, remain still in the writings of the ancients; But I fear by his words lately introduced, he supposes the objection made, as if they were brought in later than Cæsar's daies, perhaps by the clergy of Rome, otherwise it is not improbable but they had some of these from the Romans, although there be no mention of any ancienter words of the same signification in their old poets, because they have no writings of such antiquity, and numerals are (of all other words) used according to the acceptation of the present time. But the greatest argument, in my opinion, that the Britains had not any of them from the Romans, is, because that the Armorican Britains in Gaul, who sted over (not long after the coming of the Romans) into this island, cannot be supposed (in so short a time) to change so considerable a part of their language, do notwithstanding keep the same numerals as our Britains of Wales do, setting aside some small variation, as Dam for Dam, which is rather to be attributed to a difference in dialect, than that they had them from the Greeks. But, besides the names of numbers, the Britains have in their language a whole lexicon of words, whose original is undoubles.

ugus pelamor, had we no other testimony to support the fact. It does not appear, that half so many words in our language are derived from the Latin as from the Greek. Yet the

Greek: I will put down some examples out of Mr. Sheringham, which he collected, most of which, as he writeth, hath no synonymous words to express them.

British.	Greek.	English.  A neighbour, or that which is near at hand.
gos,	"Αγγος, "Αλλ©,	Another.
lt,		
m,	'Αμφὶ,	Round about, of all fides, or of all parts.
mwpn,	`Αμύνω,	To defend, or afford aid or affiftance.
	An, is a Particle privative, as it	A bear.
rth,	"Agxilo,	그 그리고 그리고 있는 이번에 보고 있다면 하는 것 같아. 그 사람이 모든데 그 사람이 되었다.
loesy,	Βλαισος,	A flammerer.
brochi,	Βςύκω,	More cruel, hafty, or uniuly.
ade,	Καρτερος,	Strong, or valiant.
arthu,	Καθάξειν,	To purge, or clear.
lasmat,	Κύσμημα, η Κόσμ,	An ornament, garnishing, or decking of any thing.
caul,	Kaulos,	Grewel, or pottage.
ib,	KICO.	A shell, or cabinet.
llaiar,	XXEQEOS,	Warm.
lledr,	Κλεϊθρον,	A rafter.
Llod,	Κληδών,	Praise, or commendation.
Inithio,	Kvήθω,	To strike.
Inoi,	Κνάω, εί Κνήθω,	To bite, or gnaw.
	Δέηsis,	A petition, or request.
Deplif,	Δη̈λ©,	Manifest.
Diliis,	"Ydwe,	Water.
Dor,	$\Delta e \tilde{v}s$ ,	An oak, or grove of trees.
Dryft.	"13.©.	Proper, or particular ones own.
Eidda,	'Ωλένη,	A cubit.
Elin, The Par	ticle Er increaseth his fignification	7/T
	"Ετι,	Yet.
Etto,	Φηλευ,	To err.
faelu,	Φύριον,	Fairs.
Fair,	$\Phi \lambda \dot{\alpha} \omega$ ,	A cut.
flaw,	Φùe, ή Φùρ®,	A thief.
Forrior, fur,		A crane.
Garan,	Γέραν©,	To tickle.
Beyleisia,	Γιγγιλίζειν,	Salt.
Halen,	"Aλs, "Aλ@,	The fun.
Daul,	"Hλι©, "Aλι©, Æol.	
Medd,	Μέδυ,	Mead, or metheglen.
Mis,	Mes, Æol.	A mouth.
IMoccio,	$Moxi\zeta\omega$ ,	To mock.
Mi,	Nãi,	We.
Myddu,	Nndw,	To spin, or weave.
Porthwys.	Ποςθικους,	A ferry-man.
Khechann,	Pélxeu,	To fneeze, or fnort.
Khyn,	Pív,	A hill.
Seban,	Σήπων,	Soap.
Sirin.	Σηρικον,	Silk.
And thus ad infui	tum, but let these few examples fu	ffice to shew the agreement of the British I
guage with the Gr	reek, which could proceed from no	o other cause than some plantation of Greek
this island." San	mes, p. 83, 84, 85, 86, 87.	

the Romans traversed almost every part of Danmonium, and settled here long after the Greeks. If, then, the Greeks were trading voyagers only, is not this a very singular circumstance?

A friend of Carew, "one Master Thomas Williams," was of opinion, "that the Cornish tongue was derived from the Greeke: And, besides divers reasons which hee produced to prove the same, he vouched many words of one sence in both; as for example:

Greeke.	Cornish.	English.	Greeke.	Cornish.	English.
Teino	Tedna	Draw	Kyon	Kye	Dogge
Mamma	Mamm	Mother	Kentron	Kentron	Spurre
Episcopos	Escoppe	Bifhop	Methyo	Methoro	Drinke
Klyo	Klowo	Heere	Scaphe	Schapth	Boat
Didafkein	Dathiky	To teach.	Ronchos	Ronchie	Snorting, &c.

This language is stored with sufficient plenty to expresse the conceits of a good wit, both in prose and rime: yet can they no more giue a Cornish word for tye, then the Greekes for ineptus, the French for stand, the English for emulus, or the Irish for knaue. Others they have not past two or three naturall, but are sayne to borrow of the English: mary, this want is releeved with a flood of most bitter curses, and spitefull nick-names. They place the adjective after the substantive, like the Grecians, &c." See Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 55.—If the reader cursorily inspect the following list, he will see many words that speak a settled people—a colonial, not a mere commercial establishment.

Ebron,	the sky,	Βροντη,	tonitru.
Echrys,	a blasting,	Kριζω,	Arideo.
Fflur,	brightness,	φλεγω,	to burn.
Plananth,	a planet,	πλανη.	
Skez, (1) Scod,	a shadow, a shade,	}σκια,	umbra.
Taran,	thunder,	ταρασσω.	
	* *	* * *	
Alfa,	high cliff,	αλης,	
Alfton,	bigb-cliff-bill,	αλσος,	
Antron,	a promontory,	αντεον.	
Ik,	a creek,	ixw.	
Porth,	a port,	$mop\theta_{\mu\nu\sigma}$ .	
Ryn,	a nose,	7	
Rhyn,	a promontory,	Shin	a nose.
Rynen,	a billock, * *	* * *	
Tam,	a river,	ποταμος. (2)	
Dour,	zvater,	υδως.	
Kren,	a spring,	upnin.	
	* *	* * * *	
Caul,	cabbage,	καυλος.	
Dryft,	an oak,	△pus.	
Neonin,	a daify,	VEOS.	
	* *	* * *	
Arth,	a bear,	αρυτος.	
Garan,	a crane,	yeçavos.	
Kei,	a dog,	nuw.	
Murrian,	an ant,	* pupios,	infinitus, whence uuppos, en ent.
Ren,	the mane of a bo	7.	to flow, to Spread.
	* *	* * *	
Cara,	to love,	7	
Karadow,	beloved,	>xapis.	
Karenza,	love,	7	<u>.</u>
			Fledgious

Fledgiow,

(2) Hence Tamar, or Tam-mawr, the great river, the largest in Cornwall.

<sup>(1)</sup> From skez, a shadow, comes skezy, shadowy, or sleeting like shadows. Whence the Devenians and Cornish say, that people chasing one another, or passing in quick succession, are skesing.

circumstance? Should we not suppose in this case, that the few Greek expressions, accidentally adopted from the conversation of merchants, would have been soon lost amidst

Fledgiow,	Ebildren, whence fledged perhaps from	; <b>ξ</b> φλαζω,	
	Sa fiend, or a deformed mea	77.	
Dzoules,	person	" { Source,	a flave.
Forrior,	a thief,	φωρ.	
Crene, Crenna,	trembling,	Zupnun.	
Dacron,	tears,	Δακρυα.	
Flaw, (1)	a cut,	φλαω,	frangos
Geyleisio,	to tickle,	Γιγγιλίζειν.	
Klowo,	to hear,	κλυω.	
Methow,	{ drink, hence Medhdas, drunkenness,	ζ μεθυ.	
	a	[Musos, crime	e, wickedness, and Muoasu,
Musac, Mousegy,	flinking, loathfome,	a kind of	foul: Whence Multutor, mess made of garlick, and ing ingredients.
Poan,	pain,	moivn,	pæna.
Renki,	to snore,	ρεγχειν.	
Ronkye,	fnoring,	ρογχος.	
Rhedec,	swiftness,	ρεω. * *	
Ate,	bate,	aln,	damage, loss.
Carthu,	to clear,	καθαρος.	
Dathifky,	to teach,	Διδαςκειν.	
Deyfif,	a petition,	Denois.	
Diliis,	manifest,	Δειλος.	
Eiddio,	proper,	18105.	
Faellu.	to err,	φαλλω,	hence falladou, falfhood.
Hezuek,	ease,	Ησυχια.	
Hyrch,	to command.	αρχη.	
Moccio,	to mock,	MONIZW.	
Ny,	we, us,	νωι.	
Tin,	terrible,	DELYOS.	
	* * * *	* *	
Theu,	God, * * * *	θεος. * *	
Choarion,	Sports, * * * *	* Xopos.	
Ancar,	an hermitage,	αναχωρεω,	recedo.
Bochim, (2		Bes. *	
Airos,	stern of a ship,	from aipw,	to unmoor, to fet to feus
Skath,	a boat,	σκαφη,	a skiff.
	+ + + +		
Elin,	a cubit, an angle,	Wheyn.	
Fer,	a fair, (3)		rry, whence feran, a fairing , tribute, taxes, a market. Ferna

<sup>(1)</sup> Hence "Flaws of winds"—a common expression in Cornwall.
(2) The Bochim of scripture is well known: And it is remarkable that there is a Bochim in Britany as well as Cornwall.
(3) Hence the Furry-day of Helston, commonly deduced from series: But series comes from the same roots.

the Roman conquests and settlements? And should we not expect to meet with a much greater number of Latin than of Greek words? Even if the Greeks had been posterior to the Romans, merely as traders to Danmonium, we should have looked for more of the Latin than of the Greek, in our language; whilst we considered the provinciating spirit of the Romans, and their establishment in this island for centuries. Admitting the reality of a Grecian colony in Danmonium, we are almost surprised at the predominance of the Greek over the Roman: For the Greeks in this island were for ages, prior to the Romans. But without admitting the reality of a Grecian colony, this predominance can never be accounted for: A Grecian colony, therefore, must have existed in Danmonium. My argument, however, does not depend merely on the number of Greek words: The little alteration they have undergone, in general, in consequence of their insertion into our language, seems a striking fact in favor of my theory. I need not insist on this point: From the lift of Greek words given below, my readers will judge for themselves. Many of these words are pure Greek, retaining their original founds, without the slightest variation. There is another argument in favor of this colony, from the quality of the Greek words. Had the Grecians been only traders to this island, the words they might have scattered here, would have been chiefly of a mercantile complexion. But examine the lifts below: There such words occur, as could not have been casually dropt into the language by a few merchants: They relate to the ordinary affairs of life. They carry conviction of a familiar intercourse between the Greeks and Danmonians: They, evidently, imply a fettled people. In the mean time, the Danmonian language resembles the Greek in many particulars. It is a circumstance worthy notice, that many Danmonian words which are not obviously deducible from the Greek, have yet a Greek termination: And many, though neither deducible from the Greek, nor having a Greek termination, are but mere echoes to this fonorous tongue-which feems to intimate, that the Danmonians, imitating the Greeks ore rotundo, were ambitious of forming their words after the Greek model. And this must argue the closest intimacy between the Greeks and the Danmonians. (a) It is to be observed, also, that like the Greek, there are numerous (b) compound words in our language, equally as expressive as the Greek. And our language,

Ferna,	merchandize, wares, goods,	φερνή,	wife's portion.
Halan,	falt,	alns.	
Kentron,	nails,	κενίρον.	
Kasmai,	an ornament,	nospos.	
Nyddu,	to Spin,	$vn\theta\omega$ .	
Plenkos,	planks,	πλεκω,	to join.
Seban,	foap,	on new.	
Syrig,	filk,	onpinov.	
Tedna,	to draw,	TEIVW.	
Tine,	S to tine the fire, i.e. to light the fire,	} τινθαλεος,	ealidus. (1)
Tribeth,	a brandiron,	трітвь.	

(a) With respect to Cornubritish words of Greek found, such as the following, are prosufely scattered through the Vocabularies of Borlase and Pryce: Gockorion, foolish people; Guarimon, theatres; Guirion, a man of veracity; Nenpynion, the brain; Dorossen, a mole-bill; Fellores, a woman-piper;

Palores, a chough; Eiriafdan, a bonfire; Splan, splender.

(b) Such as Bartine, or the bill of fires—the Cornish for fire being tan; Boscawen-rose, the bouse in the elder tree-walley; Boleit, the dairy-cot; Carminow, the little city, from car and minor or minys, small-hence minows, the small fish that abound in our streams; Caer-edris, the learned city; Cuttayle (in Calflock) the wood near the river; Crugsellick, the barrow in open view; Colhlwyn, a grove of bazel; Delabol (in St. Teth) the bouse in the clayey soil; Dinemour (from din and mor) a fort at the sea—whence Moridunum; Dinsul, a sunny bill, or a bill dedicated to the sun; Gundron, the down's-bill; Keneggy, the mossy bedge by the water; Kuzkarnnahuilan, the lapwing's rock by a wood; Leskard, the castle court, from its castle, one of the ancient seats of the Dukes of Cornwall; Misguerdiu, the month of black storms, i. e. December; Nansladron, the walley of thieves; Pendarvis, head

<sup>(1)</sup> Hence tinder. "Tine the flant lightning." Milton's Paradife Loft. B. x. 1. 1075.

language, like the Greek, abounds with expletives: Like the Greek, it has many redundancies: And in its (a) idioms, it is often fimilar to the Greek. On viewing the intermixture, therefore, of the Greek language with the Danmonian, we are struck by the number of Greek words, by their undifguised appearance, and by their quality; whilst, in our language, the terminations and sounds, compounds and expletives, redundancies and idioms, which resemble the Greek, are no less remarkable.

Whether, at this stage of the Danmonian language, the Greek characters were adopted or not, in writing, is a point which I shall not, at present, discuss. The "Græcis litteris" of Cæsar, is a dubious passage. Græcis is dismissed by many of the commentators as an interpolation: And, if there were any epithet, I think Crassis was the word.

The fourth and last stage of the Danmonian language, must be fixed at the time of the Belgic and other European settlements on our island. But on this topic I shall not enlarge. (b) The different tribes from the neighbouring continent, brought with them, undoubtedly, a barbarous tongue, which greatly corrupted the languages of Danmonium.

The language of Danmonium, then, from its first existence in the island to the time of Cæfar, feems to have undergone various modifications. Originating in the east, a daughter of the CHALDEE, it was nearly coeval in these islands with the Irish and the Erse, of which it was a fifter dialect. And we termed it the British tongue; as spoken in South-Britain. But in South-Britain, it was adulterated with various mixtures. In the western parts of South-Britain, Devon and Cornwall, we have seen it corrupted by the Phenician, the Greek, and the Belgic and other European tongues. In the mean time, it had spread from the west over the remaining part of South-Britain. In the interior parts, it was comparatively pure: On the coasts, particularly the Kentish, it had lost its primitive color and its original flavor. At this crisis, three several dialects seem to have prevailed in South-Britain—the dialect of those aboriginal Britons, who, at the invasion of the Belgæ, had fled from Danmonium into the centre of the island; the dialect or jargon of the Gauls on a great part of the coasts of South-Britain; and the dialect of the Danmonians, or of the people of Devon and Cornwall.

The dialect of Danmonium, then, (derived from the Chaldee, and blended with the Phenician, the Greek, and the Gaulish) may be termed in contradistinction with the two other dialects of South Britain, the CORNU-BRITISH or the CORNISH tongue. (c)

I have

of the oak field; Penmennor, the principal mountain; Polwhele, the pool-work; Poughill (Pouguil) the country frequented by gulls; Roscorla, the valley of the sheep-fold; Rosevallen, the apple-walley; Sulleh, the rocks of the sun; Trehane, the old town—in Probus, the seat of one of the most respectable samilies in Cornwall; Trevagheon, giant's-town; Tre'r-druw, the Druid's-town; Tremadah, the town of extasy; Trembleath, the wolf's-town.

(a) "The Cornish and Devonshire tongue seems to retain the sootsteps of the most ancient British language, and has in it the very IDIOMS of the Phenician and Greek nations." Sammes' Britan. p. 4.

(b) "The greatest argument produced to make this island peopled from Gaul, is the confinity of language between the ancient Britains and Gauls. The confinity of language between the ancient Britains and Gauls proceeds not from their being one nation, but from the Gracians and Phenicians

Britains and Gauls proceeds not from their being one nation, but from the Gracians and Phanicians who traded to both, and the words produced by Mr. Cambden for that purpose, I shall shew to be most of them Phænician, some Greek, and as for the rest they have little analogy one with another, and that which is, may proceed from the invasion of Britain by the Gauls, and the intercourse of Druids in both nations." Sammes, p. 11.—" If we take away the words which were introduced into Britain and Gaul, either by the Phænicians or Greeks, or last of all by the Romans, possibly no two languages may be judged more remote than theirs was, and then Mr. Cambden's large catalogue of words will be reduced to a small number indeed." Sammes, p. 90.—" That Britain could not have been peopled from Gaul (fays Sammes) Cæsar methinks makes it evident-where he says, that the inlanders reported themselves to be Aborigines - which they could not have done, had they agreed in language with the maritime Gauls. It would be vanity in any country, to pretend a different original, and not to speak a different language, the chief criterion." Sammes, p. 10.

(c) "The most material fingularities in this tongue are, that the substantive is placed generally before the adjective; the preposition comes sometimes after the case governed; the nominative, and governed case, and pronouns, are oftentimes incorporated with the verb; letters are changed in the beginning, middle, or end of a word, or fyllable; some omitted, some inserted; and (much to the commendation of this tongue) of feveral words one is compounded (as in the Greek) for the sake of brevity, found, and expression. (1)" Borlase's Nat. Hist. p. 314.

<sup>(1)</sup> Of which fee Lhuyd's Archæologia, p. 225, &c.

I have now fufficiently descanted on the language of the Danmonians.

How far the fciences and the arts were cultivated at this period, in Devonshire, can only be learnt from our observation of the Druids. That the Druids applied themselves to (a) astronomy and geography, Cæsar and Mela assure us: But what proficiency they made in these studies, is a subject of dispute. Mr. Chapple (as we have seen in his account of the Cromlech) represents the Druids as deep astronomers. Their mode of computing time was certainly remarkable. Spatia omnis (b) temporis (fays Cæfar) non numero dierum, sed noctium siniunt: et dies natales, et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur. This is one of the most extraordinary of the Druidical usages. It evidently speaks the high antiquity of the Druids; whilst it discovers a tenet of this venerable priesthood, that in the beginning of the world, the night was anterior The Druids believed, that before the creation, one universal darkness prevailed, and that the day fprung out of night; and, therefore, computed by nights and not by days. This agrees with the Mosaic history; and thus the Hebrews computed time. When "in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, darkness was upon the face of the deep:" And "when God divided the light from the darkness, the evening and the morning were the first day. (c) Does not this strongly savour of the oriental? Was there any such custom among the continentals of Europe? Was there any such custom even in Italy, the peculiar seat of superstition? The Druids (and British Princes) were also acquainted with the virtue of simples, and skilled in the application of them to the body. Thus we see a Caledonian chief, in the poems of Ossian, "who had searched for the herbs of the mountains, and gathered them on the fecret banks of their ftreams, and whose hand had closed the wound of the valiant." And of another, it is declared, "that to close the wound was his-he had known the herbs of the hills, and had seized their fair heads on high as they waved by their fecret streams." Medicinal Botany, indeed, was engrafted on the stock of the British religion: And the Druids were at once our physicians and our priests. The samol, probably the seamar, or wild trefoil (what the Irish Britons wear at present in their hats on St. Patrick's day)—the vervain—the selago, a kind of favin—and the mifletoe of the oak—were the favourite plants of the Druids in medicine as well as in religion. Anatomy was another science with which the Druids are said to have been acquainted; though I can scarcely conceive, that they applied their anatomical knowledge to medical uses. Yet the Druids of Danmonium were famous in medicine—not less so than the physicians of Persia. In the mean time, the Druids attended greatly to physiology. They searched into the secrets of nature. They speculated on the essence of God, the origin of all things, the dissolution of the world. Their doctrines relating to the immortality and transmigration of the soul, which were taught by the Brachmans, and are still maintained by the priests of India, are manifest proofs of their religious learning. With respect to the imitative arts, it appears that the Druids were versed both in painting and poetry. Their picture of Hercules Ogmius, as described by Lucian, displays their delicate refinement in emblematical representation; whilst it marks the affinity of their genius to the Asiatic: And their attachment to the sublimer poetry, seems to prove their superiority to every European people. But some engravings on the British coins are unequivocal testimonies of the taste of the Britons for engraving. The war-chariot I have mentioned, was defigned by a Briton—it was sketched out by a British hand, and engraved upon a British coin. This is a proof of some degree of proficiency made in the elegant as well as mechanical arts.

For the instruction of the Danmonians, in those parts of their knowledge which they thought proper to communicate, the Druids instituted seminaries of learning, and were

<sup>(</sup>a) That the Brachmans are well acquainted with aftronomy, appears from M. Le Gentil's account of a Voyage to India. The Indians on the coast of Coromandel, express their knowledge, we find, in verses or allegorical symbols; and the explication of the characters is often difficult and doubtful, on account of the incapacity of the interpreters. The curiosity of M. Le Gentil was excited by the accounts he had heard at Pondicherry, of the astronomy of the Tamoult Indians; and nothing could equal his furprize, when he faw the facility with which one of these Indians calculated, in his prefence, an eclipse of the moon (which he had proposed to him) with all the preliminary elements of that phenomenon, in three quarters of an hour.

(b) lib. 6.

(c) Genefis, c. 1. This circumstance escaped not the observation of Richard. See p. 9.

themselves the teachers of the British youth. And some solitary cavern, or karn, or sacred wood, was commonly the place of instruction. That our Danmonian leaders were not illiterate, must follow from the necessity of their attention to learning; since no perfon, we are told, who had not been educated under a Druid, was qualified for public employments. It has appeared, that the Druids instructed their disciples in verse; which the latter were not allowed to commit to writing, lest they should render the Druidical wisdom familiar to the public eye, or trusting too much to what they had written, suffer their memories to be impaired for want of exertion. Such are Cæsar's, and such are, doubtlefs, the true reasons which induced the Druids to lay this injunction on their scholars. Yet there are several antiquaries, who affert, that the Druids prohibited all kinds of writing. The Druids were accustomed also to convey their instructions to their di ciples through the medium of allegorical picture; and this with the true oriental spirit. Such, then, was the learning of the Druids, diffused in a certain degree among the fuperior ranks of the Danmonians. To enquire into the personal history of any learned men among the Danmonians, during this obscure period, would be idle and absurd. It is fatisfactory enough, at this early stage of literature, to shew, that the language of the Danmonians, in general, was respectable; and that their knowledge (a) was by no means contemptible.

SECTION

(a) Not contemptible, indeed! Let us close our view, with some remarks of Col. VALLANCEY on the LEARNED and INTELLIGENT people, whence they sprung; and with an extract from Sir WILLIAM JONES's Assatic Researches. "The S. Scythians of the Saxon chronicle (fays Vallancey) were originally seated in Mesopotamia, Shinar and Armenia, and had settled in Egypt, Palestine, and Phænicia, whence they emigrated to Spain, and lastly to the Britannic Isles." "The true Scuthai (fays Bryant) (1) WERE UNDOUBTEDLY A VERY LEARNED AND INTELLIGENT PEO-PLE; but their origin is not to be looked for in the north of Asia; or the deserts of Tartary. There was a country named Scythia, far in the east, of which little notice has been hitherto taken. It was fituated in the great Indic Ocean: and confifted of a widely-extended region, called SCYTHIA LYMYRICA.(2) Though the inhabitants of this country were unknown for ages, there was a time, when they rendered themselves very respectable. For they carried on an extensive commerce, and WERE SUPERIOR IN SCIENCE TO ALL THE NATIONS IN THEIR NEIGHBOUR-HOOD; and this was long before the dawn of learning in Greece; even before the constitution of many principalities, into which the Hellenic state was divided. As they are represented of the highest anti-quity, and of great power, and as they are faid to have subdued mighty kingdoms, and to have claimed precedency even of the Egyptians, it is worth while to enquire into the history of this wonderful people. To me then, it appears very manifest, that what was termed by the Greeks Σκυθα Σκυθια Σκυθικα, was originally Cutha, Cuthai, Cuthica, and related to the family of Chus. He was called by the Babylonians and Chaldeans Cuth, and his posterity Cuthites and Cutheans. The countries where they at times fettled, were uniformly denominated from them; but what was properly filled Cutha, the Greeks expressed with a Sigma prefixed. Epiphanius has transmitted to us a curious epitome of the whole Scythic history. Those nations, says he, which reach southward from that part of the world, where the two great continents of Europe and Asia incline to each other, and are connected, were universally stilled Scythæ, according to an appellation of long standing. These were of that family, who erected the great tower called BABEL. They were the Cuthite Shepherds, who came into Egypt, and many of them fettled in ARMENIA." In another place, Bryant fays: "We may, I think, be affured, that by the term Scutbai, are to be understood Cutbai. They were the descendants of Chus, who seized upon the region of BABYLONIA and CHALDEA; and constituted the first kingdom upon the earth. Among themselves their general patronymic was Cutb, and their country Cutba. They were an ingenious and knowing people, as I have before observed; and at the fame time very prolific. A large body invaded Egypt, when as yet it was in its infant state, made up of little independent districts, artless and uninformed, without any rule or polity. They seized the whole country, and held it for some ages in subjection: and from their arrival, the history of Egypt will be found to commence. The region between the Tigris and Euphrates, where they originally refided, was stilled the country of the Chasdim; but by the western nations Chalden. It lay to-wards the lower part of the Tigris to the west, and below the plain of Shinar. This country is said to have been also called Scutba; and the author of the Chronicon Paschale mentions Scutbæ in these parts, who were to called in his days."(4) " If I mistake not (fays Vallancey) the Scuthæ were to named from their being the first navigators-this is the character given of the foutbern Scutbæ by

<sup>(5)</sup> Mythology, vol. 3, p. 135. &c. (2) Ptolem. Geogr. L. 4, p. 121. (3) Mythology, vol. 3, p. 175. (4) Berofus fays, that Noah left the Scythian Armenians his ritual books, which only prieffs, and that only among prieffs, might read.

## SECTION X.

VIEW of the PERSONS and POPULATION of the DANMONIANS, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. View of the Persons of the Danmonians—Cæsar's distinction between the maritime Britons from Gaul, and the Aborigines—the Aborigines of Danmonium, resembling the Irish and the Highlanders, in stature, bodily strength, fair complexion, and red hair—in these points more like the oriental nations, than the Gaulish tribes.—II. Phenicians, Greeks, and Gaulish tribes.—III. Populousness of the Island, at the close of this Period.

IT feems to have been the opinion of Tacitus, that, among the great variety of contingencies, which act both upon the body and the mind of man, the climate hath not the flightest influence. Agreeably to this notion, an analogy hath frequently been formed between the air and soil of a country, and the bodily and mental constitution of its inhabitants. The Britons, in particular, have been represented wild as the winds that howled around them—and rough as their native hills. But this is, for the most part, a picture from

Dionyfius."-Let us now turn our attention to Sir WILLIAM JONES. At the opening of the fixth discourse, (5) on the Persians, delivered 19th February, 1789; the president, Sir WILLIAM JONES informs his audience that he turns with delight from the vast mountains and barren deferts of Turan, over which he had travelled last year with no perfect knowledge of his course, to pursue his journey through one of the most celebrated and most beautiful countries in the world; a country, the history and languages of which he had long attentively studied, and on which he might, without arrogance, promise more positive information, than he could possibly procure on a nation so disunited and so unlettered as the Tartars. He proceeds to describe the situation of Persia, as it is improperly called by Europeans; the name of a fingle province being applied to the whole empire of Iran." Having finished his preliminary remarks, he adverts to a variety of topics, among which the ancient languages, and the primeval religion and characters of Iran, have a confiderable share of his attention. He concludes his discourse, by recapitulating the principal positions, which he has endeavoured to establish: "Thus has it been proved by clear evidence and plain reasoning, that a powerful monarchy was established in Iran long before the Assyrian, or Pishdadi, government; that it was in truth a Hindu monarchy, though, if any chuse to call it Cusian, Casdean, or Scythian, we shall not enter into a debate on mere names; that it subsisted many centuries, and that its history has been ingrafted on that of the Hindus, who founded the monarchies of Ayodhya and Indraprestha; that the language of the first Persian empire was the mother of the Sanscrit, and consequently of the Zend, and Parsi, as well as of Greek, Latin, and Gothick; that the language of the Assyrians was the parent of Chaldaick and Pahlavi, and that the primary Tartarian language also had been current in the same empire; although, as the Tartars had no books or even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpolished and variable idioms. We discover, there-fore, in Persia, at the earliest dawn of history, the three distinct races of men, whom we described on former occasions as possessors of India, Arabia, and Tartary; and, whether they were collected in Iran from distant regions, or diverged from it, as from a common centre, we shall easily determine by the following confiderations. Let us observe, in the first place, the central position of Iràn, which is bounded by Arabia, by Tartary, and by India; whilst Arabia lies contiguous to Iràn only, but is remote from Tartary, and divided even from the skirts of India by a considerable gulf: no country, therefore, but Persia, seems likely to have sent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of Asia: the Brahmans could never have migrated from India to Iran, because they are expressly forbidden by their oldest existing laws to leave the region, which they inhabit at this day; the Arabs have not even a tradition of an emigration into Persia before Mohammed, nor had they indeed any inducement to quit their beautiful and extensive domains; and, as to the Tartars, we have no trace in history of their departure from their plains and forests, till the invasion of the Medes, who, according to etymologists, were the sons of Madai; and even they were conducted by princes of an Assyrian family. The three races, therefore, whom we have already mentioned, (and more than three we have not yet found,) migrated from Iran, as from their common country; and thus the Saxon chronicle, I prefume, from good authority, brings the first inhabitants of Britain from Armenia; while a late very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious researches, that the Goths or Scythians came from Persia; and another contends, with great force, that both the Irish and old Britons proceeded severally from the borders of the Caspian; a coincidence of conclusions from different media by persons wholly unconnected, which could scarce have happened, if they were not grounded on solid principles!"

<sup>(1)</sup> Afiatic Refearches, vol. 2.

from fancy.(a) Whether, however, this connexion between the climate of Britain and its inhabitants be admitted or rejected, we would wish to be acquainted with the real character of both. Yet, here, ancient authors are again at variance. Whilst Diodorus intimates, that the air of this island is cold, (b) Cæsar talks of the milder temperature of Britain as compared with Gaul, and Tacitus particularly notices the foftness of our climate. (c) With respect to the first Britons, Diodorus calls them αυθοχθονα γενη; and Tacitus says: "BRITANNIAM QUI MORTALES INITIO COLUERINT, indigenæ advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum." (d) For the persons of the Britons, Cæsar's report is, that "those who lived nearest Gaul, were very like the Gauls; probably owing to their being descended from the same original stock, and their dwelling almost in the fame climate."(e) Here Cæsar establishes a clear distinction between the maritime Britons and the Aborigines. He attributes the likeness of the maritime Britons to the Gauls, to their having sprung from the same stock: Whence we may infer his opinion, that the inland Britons or Aborigines, not resembling the Gauls, points out a very different origin. Though not decided as to their real origin, yet Cæsar clearly saw, that the Aborigines could never have come from Gaul. And this was evidently the fense of all his contemporaries. The case was so plain, that to affert expressly, that the Aborigines were not derived from Gaul, would have struck Cæsar as an absurdity. The direct affirmation of an obvious truth, which has never been doubted, is always ridiculous.

The Aborigines were a different race of beings from the Gaulish coasters. They were remarkably large and tall. "The Britons (says Strabo) exceed the Gauls in stature; of which I had ocular demonstration. For I saw some young Britons at Rome, who were half a foot taller than the tallest men." (f) If, as we have frequently done, we turn our views to Ireland and the Highlands, we shall discover a striking likeness in the inhabitants of both, to the first Danmonians, or the original race of South-Britain. The Irish and the North Britoins were remarkable for their large limbs and high stature: And in other particulars, we shall fee, they resembled the unmixt, undegenerated people of

Danmonium.

(a) One of our writers, drawing the character of the Danmonians, fays: "The ancient inhabitants of this county are represented as intrepid, prodigal of life, constant in affection, courteous to Arangers, and extremely fond of popular applause. For the barbarity of these times, the Danmonii were a civil and courteous people: They were stout and puissant; taking heart even of the soil itself, and emboldened by the roughness of their country." Richards, in his "ABORIGINAL BRITONS," often starts this idea—in my opinion, not appilly. And his portrait of the ancient Briton, may be poetical enough: It is, certainly, not a just one-

Rude as the wilds around his fylvan home, In favage grandeur see the Briton roam: Bare were his limbs, and ftrung with toil and cold, By untam'd nature cast in giant mould. O'er his broad brawny shoulders, loofely flung, Shaggy and long, his yellow ringlets hung. His waift an iron-belted falchion bore, Maffy, and purpled deep with human gore. His fcarr'd and rudely painted limbs around, Fantastic horror-striking figures frown'd, Which, monster-like, ev'n to the confines ran Of nature's work, and left him hardly man. His knitted brows and rolling eyes impart A direful image of his ruthless heart; Where War and human Bloodshed, brooding, lie, Like thunders, lowering in a gloomy sky.

(b) Diodor. Sicul. Wess. Tom. I. p. 347. " αερος διαθεσιν πανθελως καθεψυγμενην."
(c) Cæsar—Bell. Gall. 12. "Loca funt temperatiora, quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus."

Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 12. " Asperitas frigorum abest."

(d) Jul. Agric. c. ii.
(e) Cæfar, l. 5, c. 12. Cæfar's knowledge of the Britons, was in fome points superficial: But it was enough to enable him to draw a just outline of them. The particulars Cæfar learnt relating to the Danmonians, were from the Gaulish merchants and from the people of Kent, who knew little of Devonshire.

(f) Strabo, lib. 5, p. 200. " Proceritate corporis Gallos æque ac Romanos vincunt Britones; ita ut wisos sibi Romæ juwenes nondumque adultos Britones Strabo philosophus, orbis terræ descriptor antiquissimus, affirmet, qui solitam Gallorum Romanorumque staturam non levi momento excedebant." Ricard, p. 7 Danmonium. The Danmonians were no less celebrated for their bodily strength (a) than for their gigantic fize. And the Irish and the Highlanders were wonderfully vigorous. Wrestling is an exercise well calculated for the display of bodily strength: And the Danmonians, the Irish, and the Highlanders, excelled all the Europeans in wrestling. Ossian thus describes Fingal and Swaran, wrestling. "Their sinewy arms bend round each other: they turn from side to side, and strain and stretch their large spreading limbs below. But, when the pride of their strength arose, they shook the hill with their heels: Rocks tumble from their places on high: the green-headed bushes are overturned." (b) It appears, that the sirst Danmonians had, in general, (c) fair complexions, and yellow, or red hair: Such was the case with the Caledonians. The hair of the Danmonians was, also, soft and curling: So was that of the Highlanders. "Was he white as the snow of Ardven—blooming as the bow of the shower? Was his hair like the mist of the hill, soft and curling in the day of the sun? Was he like the thunder of heaven in battle? Fleet as the roe of the desart?" (d) With respect to the semales of Danmonium, they were distinguished for their beauty—if they resembled the Caledonians, in the blue radiance of their eyes, and in fairness, and the softness of their persons. The bosom of one of the Caledonian ladies is compared by Ossian, to the down of the swan, "when slow she sails the lake, and sidelong winds are blowing." (e)

the lake, and fidelong winds are blowing." (e)

That the eastern nations (particularly the Arabians and the Persians) approached much nearer in their persons, to the inhabitants of Danmonium, Scotland, and Ireland, than any of the Gaulish tribes, might easily be proved. The blue eyes of the eastern

female, in particular, have been already remarked. (f)

By the intermixture of the Phenicians, Greeks, and Gallic tribes, with the Danmonians, great alterations in their original stature, strength and beauty, must have gradually taken place: But to discriminate these changes, would be impossible. From their swarthy complexions and curled hair, Tacitus conjectured, that the inhabitants of the south-west coast had come from Spain. And the Phenicians, undoubtedly, formed settlements in Spain; and, probably, in Danmonium. To enquire surther into these particulars, would be fruitless.

To what age the Danmonians commonly lived, is a question to which an answer cannot be reasonably expected: Yet the longevity of the Britons is memorized by Plutarch, who says, that they lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. And Plutarch's intelligence (with that of the ancients in general) seems to have been derived from merchants trading to Danmonium.

With respect to population, Diodorus and Cæsar agree in their reports, that the island was well stored with inhabitants. The number of towns, indeed, on the south-west shore, which, according to Suetonius, were subdued by the Romans, sufficiently prove the populousness of this part of the island, about the close of the British Period.

(a) See Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 56, 57, 58.
(b) Offian, v. 1, p. 62, 63.
(c) Strabo, l. 5, p. 200.
(d) Offian, v. 1, p. 90.
(e) Offian, v. 1, p. 58.

(f) For an illustration of this topic, I would refer my readers to the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and Sir W. Jones's various descriptions of the oriental nations.

## SECTION XI.

VIEW of the CHARACTER, MANNERS, and USAGES of the DANMONIANS, during the BRITISH PERIOD.

I. The Courage of the Danmonians—their reftless Activity—their Simplicity—their Fidelity and Attachment to their respective Tribes-their Frugality-their Hospitality-their Character from Diodorus-their refentful Temper-their Cruelty-their intemperate Curiofity, a Grecian feature—their Superstition.—II. The modes of Address among the Danmonians—their matrimonial Connexions—their Dress—their domestic Accommodations and Usages—their Diet—their principal Sports—their Customs in War, and military Apparatus, partieularly the scythed Chariot—Examination of the question, whether the scythed Chariot was Criental or Gaulish—the Rites of Sepulture in Danmonium.—III. Character, Manners, and Usages of the Danmonians, highly favourable to the Eastern Hypothesis—this Hypothesis founded on firong circumstantial Evidence; which, on a review of the whole Chapter. feems irrefistible.

HISTORY presents us with few subjects more curious or pleasing, than the manners of nations. But the æra of the Danmonians is much too remote, to furnish us with any satisfactory views in this line of speculation. The persons of the ancient inhabitants of the west have been already described. We are now to examine their mental character, their virtues and their vices—and their more remarkable habitudes and customs.

Among the virtues of a people not highly polished, courage or personal intrepidity is generally the most prominent. And courage was a virtue of the Danmonians. After having enumerated the different tribes, from the continent, that gradually established themselves in various parts of the island, Richard mentions the Danmonii, as a race of people the strongest and most courageous of all: He describes them, as gens omnium validissima. But another part of their original character, seems to have been a restless activity—an ardent desire of change, and a fondness for discoveries, which prompted them to range over the earth, and to invade the most distant territories. If we recur to the eastern countries (whence we have derived the Danmonians) we shall find that the Chaldwans, mentioned by Xenophon as a warlike nation of Armenia, possest the same fierce and wandering spirit; in allusion to which the prophet (a) Habakkuk exclaims: "I raise up the Chaldwans, that bitter and hasty nation, who shall go over the breadth of the earth, to possess the dwelling-places which are not theirs." The simplicity of the Danmonians is, also, worthy notice. (b) Diodorus intimates, that they were fincere and honest. "They are simple in their manners (says the Historian) very different characters from the men of our times: The obliquity and improbity of the present day, are far removed out of their sight." This openness of disposition, this abhorrence of all dissimulation, was a striking characteristic of those countries, whence the Danmonians probably emigrated. The eastern nations and the Danmonians were alike distinguished for their love of truth. (c) Fidelity and attachment to their respective tribes, were traits of character no less remarkable in the Danmonians. And there is no passion by which a Highlander or a native Arab is more distinguished than by an attachment to his clan or tribe, and jealousy for its honor. Frugality was another virtue of the Danmonians: This, too, marks the Highlanders and the Arabs, who adhere to their old plain diet, nor wish to provoke appetite by luxuries. Yet the frugality of the Danmonians, was connected with the most generous hospitality. The natives of Scotland and Arabia still preferve this social spirit; and in the frankness of their domestic attentions, exhibit the ancient Danmonian character. Their kindness to strangers, in particular, brings back to view the generations that flourished in Devonshire and Cornwall; when the halls of

<sup>(</sup>a) Chap. 1. v. 6. (b) "As Tacitus hath preferred the genius of the Britons to that of the Gauls; fo hath Diodorus, their integrity to that of the Romans." Magna Brit. p. 12.

(c) An ingenious man of this county used often to fay—" that the people of Devonshire and Command were certainly derived from the orientals, for these three reasons: Their skill in the bow their skill in horsemanship and their love of truth."

the chieftains echoed with festivity. Such were the Danmonians; of whom the historian (a) has drawn the following picture, to which I have more than once alluded. Καθοικειν δε φασιν την Βεελτανικήν ΑΥΤΟΧΘΟΝΑ ΓΕΝΗ, και τον παλαιον βιον ταις αγωγαις διατηρενία. αρμασι μεν γας καία τες πολεμες χρωνίαι, καθαπες οι πάλαιοι των Ελληνων ήςωες εν τφ Τρωικώ πολεμώ, κεχρησθαι παραδέδονίαι. Και τας οικησεις ευτελείς εχυσιν, εκ των καλαμων η ξυλων καία το πλειτον συγκειμενας. Την δε συναγωγην των σίλικων παρπων ποιενίαι, τες ταχυς αυίες αποιεμνονίες και θησαυςιζοντές εις τας καλαγείες οικήσεις. Εκ δε τυτων τυς παλαιυς ςαχυς καθ' ημεςαν τιλλειν, και καθεργαζομένως έχειν την τροφην. Τοις δε ηθεσιν απλες ειναι, και πολυ κεχωςιεμενες της των νυν άνθεωπων αγχινοιας και πονηριας. Τας τε διαίλας ευτελεις εχειν, και της εκ το πλυτο γινομένης τουφης πολυ διαλλαττοντας. Ειναι δε και πολυανθρωπον την νησον, και την τε αερος εχειν διαθεσιν πανθελως καθε Δυγμενην, ως αν υπ' αυθην την αρκτον κειμενην. Βασιλείς τε και δυνας ας πολλες εχειν, και προς αλληλες καθά το πλειζον ειζηνικώς διακεισθαι.

Της γας Βεείτανικης καία το ακρωτηρίον το καλυμένου Βελέριου οι καθοικυνίες φιλοξένοι τε δια-Φεροντως είσι, και δια την των ξενων εμπορων επιμίξιαν εξημερωμένοι τας αγωγας.(b)

In discriminating the character of a nation as of an individual, there are vices which must ever be opposed to virtues. But Diodorus has not ascribed to the Danmonians a fingle vice: His portrait of the ancient Britons, is too luminous to be just. It is imperfeet: We want the relief of shadow to finish it. The truth is, that the Danmonians, like other nations, not arrived at the acme of civilization, were resentful, and too frequently, cruel. Their refentment was chiefly discoverable in their family-feuds, which were frequently transmitted from generation to generation. The Highlanders and Arabs cherish the same animosities: And, among the latter, the war of tribes is often entailed, in all its horrors, on a long posterity. The cruelty of the Danmonians might be instanced in several circumstances: But it was most conspicuous in their treatment of the shipwrecked mariner. The people of Devonshire and Cornwall, have been addicted from the earliest days to a species of plunder, little accordant and apparently incompatible with their hospitality to strangers. If a vessel be wrecked on their coasts, they consider it as marked by providence for their own; seize it as heaven's blessing; and sometimes, in the phrenzy of rapaciousness, commit the most inhuman outrages on those, whose sufferings loudly call for pity and protection. And what is very extraordinary, the same

evil genius of plunder hath ever prevailed among the Arabs.

Such are the more prominent features of the first Danmonian colonists. The Britons of this period are marked by several other lines of character; such as might be traced, perhaps, in the subsequent colonists, the Phenicians, the Greeks, and Gaulish tribes. That (c) intemperate curiosity, which, according to some writers, distinguished the ancient Britons, particularly the Danmonian merchants, was, probably, a Grecian trait.

(a) Diodorus first speaks of the island: Hegi de Trist vnou nai Tu Quomenu nas ausmi naorilegu γυν διεξιμεν. Αυίη γας τω εχημαίι τςιγωνος εσα παςαπλησιως τη Σικελια, τας πλευςας ουκ ισοκωλυς εχει. Παρεκθεινυσης δε αυθης παρα την Ευρωπην λοξης, το μεν ελαχισον απο της ηπειεε διες ηκος ακεωθηριον, ο καλεσι Κανδιον, ο Φασιν απεχειν απο της γης ςαδιες ως εκαδον, καθ' ον τοπον η θαλασσα ποιείλαι τον εκεθν. το δ'ετεξον ακξωθηξιον τοκαλεμένου Βελεξιον απεχειν λεγεται της ηπεις πλεν ημεςων τεσσαζων. το δ' υπολειπομενον ανηκειν μεν 150ρεσιν εισ το πελαγος, ονομαζεσθαι δε Οςκαν. Των δε πλευζων την μεν ελαχιζην ειναι ζαδιων επτακισχιλιων πενλακοσιων, παςηκεσαν παςα την Ευςωπην. την δε δευλεςαν την απο τε ποςθμε προς την κορυφην ανηκεσαν, ςαδιων μυριων πενίακισκιλιων, την δε λοιπην, ςαδιων δισμυριων. ως ε την πασαν είναι τησ νησε περιφοραν ςαδιων τετρακισμυρίων δισχιλίων πενθακοσίων. Diodor. (b) Died. Sicul. Tom. 1. p. 346, 347.

Sicul. Wesseling. Tom. 1. p. 346. (b) Diod. Sicul. Tom. 1. p. 346, 347. (c) Inter cætera suit et boc Britannicæ consuetudinis, ut viatores et mercatores etiam invitos consistere cogerent, et quod quisque eorum de una alterave re apud exteros memorabile audierit, aut cognoverit, quærerent, et mercatores peregre advenientes in oppidis vulgus circumsisteret; quibus ex regionibus venient; quasque ibi res cognoverint, pronunciare cogentes. His rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de summit sæpe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos e vestigio pænitere necesse est, quum incertis rumoribus serviant, et plerique ad voluntatem eorum sicta respondeant. Ricard, p. 8.

History thus enables us to touch, lightly, on the Danmonian virtues and vices: And we can do no more—unless we contemplate this people as tinctured by superstition, which, gives a firong color to the human mind; particularly in the ruder æras of fociety. Super-fittion, indeed, will be feen to influence the Danmonians, in almost every situation: And, though we have already marked it under the form of religion, yet often shall we fee it starting up, in various fashions, usages, and customs.

With respect to the customs or fashions of the Danmonians, in common life, we can fay very little with certainty. Of their modes of address, for instance, we have scarce any account; unless the homage they paid to persons of distinction, by walking three times round them from east to west, be numbered among the ceremonials of fashion.

In regard to matrimonial connexions, it appears, that the Danmonian mode of courtship was entirely in the oriental ftyle. The lover addressed himself first to the father of the maid, and requested his daughter in marriage. And the father, if he agreed to the over-ture, "opened the hall of the (a) maid," the apartment in which she generally sat retired from the men of the family—and introduced the suitor to his daughter. (b) The period of this courtship was very short—resembling that described (c) in Genesis: It was, in every respect indeed, patriarchal. Though a man married but one woman, whom he regarded as his wife; yet a certain fociety of brethren or friends were accustomed to com. municate their wives to one another, for their reciprocal enjoyment. (d) This community of avives was no way fimilar to the marriages of the Gauls, or any other western nation. (e) The ceremony of binding girdles, imprest with several mystical figures, about the waists of women in labor (when a birth was attended with any difficulty) was, doubtless, of eastern origin. The words and gestures that accompanied this ceremony marked its high antiquity. In the same manner, the wife of the Highlander, when advanced in her pregnancy, was bound with the fanctified girdle, to alleviate the pains and expedite the birth. A hundred of those girdles are promised by a chief, "to bind highbosomed women !"(f)

Of the dress of the Danmonians, we have had a momentary glimpse in the survey of their manufactures. The (g) skins of beasts have been too commonly mistaken for the cloathing of the Britons. Loofe woollen garments, however, not less artificial than the mantles of the Scotch or the Irish, were certainly worn by the Danmonians. And this was an oriental dress: It was in fashion, not long after the dispersion. (b) But the Danmonians were Armenians, Phenicians, Greeks, and Gauls: Their drefs, therefore, must have varied according to the fashions of the countries whence they came. And, in each race, the different ranks and orders of people must have been distinguished by different modes of drefs. Strabo describes the drefs of the Danmonians, as of a flowing robe down to their feet, and long sleeves made fast at the wrists. And the historian terms this robe μελαγχλαινη—which is descriptive of the color, as well as the materials of which it was

composed.

(b) Genefis, xiv. 23, &c. &c.

The British virgin was marriageable at fourteen. Howel Dwa. L. ii. c. 1.

(b) Offian, vol. r. p. 50, and 115. (c) Genesis, c. 24.

(d) "The Britons formed themselves (lays Mr. Whitaker) into a strange set of matrimonial clubs, which generally comprehended ten or twenty families, and each husband had free access to each wife in it." Cæsar, p. 89.

(c) " The Britons had one remarkable custom peculiar to themselves, and not to be met with, as far as we know, in the practice of any other nation. We mean a fort of community of wives, which according to Cafar, was after this manner. Ten or twelve of them, especially brethren with each other, and parents with their children, had wives together in common; yet so, as that, when a woman brought forth, the child was accounted his only, who first married her. Dio and Eusebius tell much the same story; and so strange it appeared to the Romans, that Julia Domna, Severus's Empress, repreached a British lady with it, as a way of living infamous in the women, and barbarous in the men. The lady having observed what passed at court, briskly reply'd: We do that publickly with the best of our men, which you do privately with the worst of yours. Selden mentions another odd custom, with which we will conclude this article about matrimony. Upon the death of any great man, his friends made diligent enquiry concerning it. If any of the friends of his wise were found accessary to it, they proceeded against them with fire and other terments. To this cufhusband to be burned." Magna Brit. p. 13. tom it is, that Coke refers the original of our English law, that orders a woman who has killed her

composed. (a) Trowsers were equally worn by the Danmonians and the Persians. The vesture of the Druids seems to correspond with that of the priests of Iran, or the present Sufi of India, who are clad in woollen garments or mantles. (b) The Danmonian foldiers appeared naked in battle: They painted, also, their bodies for the fight, and wore a ring

round their middles. (c)

I shall make one observation only on this topic—which is—that we are too apt to draw our notions of the dress of the Britons from Cæsar. But Cæsar's is a very superficial notice of the Britons, in this particular: It is an outline so faint, as to be scarce discernable. Cæfar could not possibly have been so well acquainted with the Britons as Strabo, and other Greek writers, who derived the most authentic information from their countrymen, the Greek merchants and fettlers on the coasts of Danmonium. Britain, or rather Danmonium, was known to the Greeks, long before the invasion of Cæsar. Strabo has more particularly described the Cassiterides, or Devonshire and Cornwall and the Scilly-

isles—a part of Britain, of which Cæsar was ignorant.

Of their domestic accommodation, we may have conceived some idea, from the houses of the Danmonians already described. (d) The seats of our chiefs (like those of the Highlanders) were surrounded with hills and hanging woods, and thus sheltered from the inclemency of the weather. Near them generally ran a large fiream, abounding with fish. The woods were stocked with wild-fowl; and the downs and mountains behind them were the natural feat of the red deer. Nor were the fides of the hills or the vallies unproductive in corn or herbage. In his great hall fat (e) the British chief, with his children and guests around him, listening to the song and the harp of his bards or daughters, and drinking from cups of shell. (f) The hearth of the Britons seems to have been fixed in the centre of their great halls—as in some parts of Scotland to this day. That the Britons were acquainted with coal, is evident, among other proofs, from its British appellation, which subsists among the Irish in their Gual, and among the Cornish in their Kolan to this day. And peat, the most inflammable of all fuel, was certainly in use among the Danmonii. The venison of the Britons was thus prepared. It was laid upon a bed of flaming fern, and covered with a layer of smooth flat stones, and another of fern The same mode of cookery was practised in Ireland, and is still in some above it. (g)

(a) See Sammes, p. 117, 118.
(b) We are told, that the Britons suffered their beards to grow to a considerable length, but confined (as among the Irish) to the upper lip. The Druids had, doubtless, venerable beards.

(c) Even so late as the battle of Killicranky, the Highlanders threw off their plaids and short coats,

and fought in their shirts.

(d) "Their cottages were very finall, and thatched with straw. What then? So are they still in feveral places of Britain. But can we thence conclude with a late learned writer, that Cafar, at his landing, found not fo much as one flone upon another. The direct contrary to this affertion feems to be probable from some passages in Casar himself, who gives us an account of large cities and long fieges. We think it past doubt, that some of these cities, at least the walls of them, were of stone. Why should Britain therefore, which exceeded Gaul in almost all other respects, be thought to come fo very short of it in this? It cannot easily be imagined that all the cities in Gaul, mentioned by Cafar, were built by the Romans. We will therefore, at present, suppose there anciently were upon the coasts of Britain some good towns, to which strangers had recourse to buy and sell, and exchange wares with those of the island." Mag. Brit. p. 13.

(e) Their manner of fitting at meat, not on feats or benches, but upon the ground, was evidently oriental. "When they fat at meat, it was not upon feats or benches, but upon the ground; whereon, instead of carpets, they spread the skins of wolves, or dogs. The guests all of them sat round about, and the food was placed before them, and every one took his part; they were waited upon by the younger people of both fexes. Such as had not skins were content with a little hav or straw, which

was laid under them." Strutt. vol. 1, p. 288.

(f) Offian, vol. 1. p. 72, 240, 16, and 27, and Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline, -r and 3. custom of pledging each other amidst their cups, and the order observed in drink for were similar in Danmonium and Arabia. In the "Arabian Nights," "Amine filled out wine, and drank first berfelf, according to the custom of the Arabians, then she filled it to her guests."(1)

(g) See Offian, vol. 1. p. 15.

<sup>(1)</sup> See Arabian Nights, vol. 1. p. 134. This is the present mode of drinking in Devonskire, among the lower orders of the people.

measure retained by the present Highlanders in their hunting parties. (a) Of our indigenous birds, for the provision of the Danmonian tables, the cheneros (probably the goofander) was esteemed a dainty: As such the Romans prized it. Mr. Whitaker thinks, that the domestic pigeon was introduced into Britain by the Romans. But, I conceive, it was prior to the Romans, for the very reason he has given in support of his idea. (b) The cock of the wood was known in the forest of Dartmoor; but, as our woods diminished, it retreated from the south-west, and gradually from South Britain, into the Highlands of Scotland, and into Ireland—where it is now rare, and, probably, will be foon extinct. (c) In their abstinence from particular meats, the Danmonians certainly refembled the Hebrews and many of the eastern nations. It does not appear, that the Romans or any other European people, had ever any exception of this fort to certain animals. The hare, as Cæsar and other authors inform us, was one animal from which the Britons (d) abstained: And the hare was prohibited to the Hebrews. (e) The Romans, in the mean time, esteemed the hare a great delicacy; and, in this island, secured the luxury to themselves. The eating of geese and of hens was, also, prohibited by the Druids; since these birds were consecrated to religion. (f) Even now the common people, both in Devonshire and Cornwall (but particularly in this county) have an aversion to the hare, and to most kinds of poultry—which they reject under the general appellation of hollow fowl. The abstinence of the Danmonians from fish, must have originated in the same principle of religion; fince the very rivers and the sea were deified. The scaly inhabitants, therefore, of the rivers and the sea, would naturally be considered as the little naids of both, and as sharing a part of their divinity. In the interior parts of the Highlands, the fish of their brooks and lakes are seldom eaten by the natives, to this day (g) These prohibitions, with respect to meats, have been often mentioned: But the abstinence of the British failors, recorded by Solinus, seems to have been overlooked. Quantocunque tempore cursus tenebant, ut author est Solinus, navigantes, escis abstinent. (b) This reminds

(a) As to the diet of the Highlanders, there is one very remarkable particular, that occurs in Birt's Letters, (vol. 2. p. 121.) In the interior parts of the Highlands, it feems, the lower ranks of people subsist on a little catmeal, milk, and blood drawn from their living cattle. The Abyssinians, then, are not singular in drawing blood from their living cattle! The Cornish (and the Devonians in fome parts of Devon) bake the blood of animals.

(b) "The domestic pigeon was once equally a stranger to Asia and Britain, and bespeaks its introducers into the latter, by the name of klommen, which it bears in the Welsh; of kylobman and kolom in the Cornish, and kulm or kolom in the Irish and Armorick." Thus Mr. Whitaker. But

columba was derived from the British words.

(c) Our original island birds (according to Mr. Whitaker) were the duck, teal, widgeon, fwan, crane, flork, buftard, (1) capercalze, cook of the wood, woodcock, quail, snipe, (2) heathcock, lark, stockdove. - Several of these are extinct in the island, and others not existing in Devonshire.

(d) The Danmonians kept hares about the courts of their chiefs.

(e) "They looked upon it as a crime to eat either hare, hen or goofe, which however, Cæfar affures us, they kept for their pleasure. Nay Pliny affirms, that the chenerotes, which are of the same species with geefe, were looked upon as the choicest meat in Britain. They were very sparing in their diet, according to Diodorus, which both he and Cafar affirm to have been usually either venison, or fruits or milk. Strabo fays, they knew not how to make cheefe; but that cannot be altogether true, for it will not easily be allowed that all of them, especially those that dealt with the Phanicians, were ignorant of fo common a piece of tkill. Dion affures us they tilled no ground: But he too must be understood with restriction; for Pliny assures us, they manur'd their ground with marl instead of dung, which argues no such ignorance in husbandry as Strabo and Dion charge upon them. Their drink was usually made of barley, as Solinus hath informed us. We shall only farther observe, that this distinction of meats, their making some lawful, others unlawful, in Mr. Selden's opinion, relish'd somewhat of the Jews, and was rarely practifed by any but eastern nations, such as Phanicia, Egyp;, Syria, &c. who had conversed with the Jews. So Dion tells us, the antient Britains symbolized with the Syrians in refusing to eat fish." Magn. Brit. p. 12.

(f) The Danmonians had their domestic cock; though not for the purpose of food. See Richard,

and Sammes, p. 109,

p. 5—and Sammes, p. 109, (g) Birt's Letters, vol. 2, p. 121. (b) Ricard, p. 5.

(1) The capercalze was common to all the island; but from its feeding on the tender tops of fir-branches, and loving

high and folitary mountains and woods, it has now for ages been peculiar to the Highlands.

(2) "The heathcock's head is beneath his wing. The hind sleeps with the hart of the defart. They shall rife with morning's light, and feed by the mostly stream -but my tears return with the sun. My sighs come on with the night!"-Offian, vol. 1. p. 378.

me of the abstinence of the sailors noticed in St. Paul's voyage to Rome. (a) The providing (b) of bread for every family among the Danmonians, was the province of the women: And the bread was baked upon flones, (c) which the Welsh denominate Greidiols, and we Gredles. In the same manner, we find in scripture mention of bread baked among the ashes. Sarah made cakes upon the hearth, when the three men came to see Abraham. (d) This custom is retained by the Arabs. Dr. Leonhart Ranwolffs informs us, that "in the tent where he was entertained, the Arabs made a paste of flour and water, and wrought it into broad cakes, about the thickness of a singer, and put them water, and wrought it into broad cakes, about the thickness of a finger, and put them in a hot place on the ground, heated on purpose by fire, and covered it with ashes and coals, and turned it several times until it was enough. Some of the Arabians have in their tents (fays he) stones or copper-plates made on purpose to bake their bread." The (e) luxury of cheeses is said to have been unknown to the Danmonians. But the Danmonians made curds and butter of their milk from the earliest times—densantes in acorem jucundum et pingue butyrum, says Pliny. (f) And, indeed, the art of making curds and butter was not a European art: The Romans, we shall see, were ignorant of it. As Pliny describes the Danmonians, so Herodotus (g) describes the Scythians as famous for their curds and butter: And it is remarkable, that the four-curd (or the acor jucundus) is familiar only at the present day, to the Tartars and the Cornish and a few of the Devonians. (h) Water, milk, or metheglin, were the common liquors of the Danmonians. But on festal days, their drink was curmi, (i) the curw of the Welsh, and the ale of the English. This liquor was made in Ægypt immediately after the dispersion, as a substitute for the juice of the grape, to which that country was unfavourable. And, the Aborigines of Danmonium, finding the same defect in this country, supplied it in the same manner. There are some, indeed, of opinion, that the Danmonians planted vineyards and orchards in very early times; and that they used, as their principal liquors, the fermented juice both of the grape and of the apple: But, though perhaps the vallies of Danmonium were fufficiently funny for the grape, yet our climate must have been always too variable for the regular produce of it. Cyder, possibly, was drank by the first Danmonians; fince the orchards of Devonshire were very ancient. (k) The Danmonians, whatever might have been their usual liquors, seem to have possessed the secret of quenching their thirst in a very fingular manner: But the ingredients of the composition to which I allude, we should vainly attempt to discover. (1) The Arabs use guins for this purpose, in their passage over their sultry defarts. And this expedient of the Danmonians to quench thirst, seems to have originated amidst the burning sands of the waste, where they might look around them with wishful eyes, for refreshment from the fountain

(a) Acts, c. 27, v. 33.
(b) The Britons were well acquainted with the use of band-mills before their submission to the Romans; and these mills were distinguished by the name of querns, carnes or stones. Whitaker.

(c) Is the custom of baking bread upon the hearth, under a kettle, known any where but in Devon and Cornwall? Is not this a relic of the ancient mode of baking?

(d) Genefis, c. 18.

(e) The crook was probably of very ancient date in Devonshire. It consists of two long poles, generally, I believe, ashen, which, affixed to a pack-saddle, and branching off on each side to fome distance, are then bent upwards; so that by means of the curvature, they become (when flung on the backs of horses) the receptacle of various articles in husbandry, longitudinally placed on them. Thus bundles of hay and faggots, or sheaves of corn, are heaped up, within the curvature, to a confiderable height. For corn-carrying, these crooks are particularly convenient. They are very common in this county, but occur no where besides in England. But what inclines me to think them of great antiquity, is, that they are still to be seen in the Highlands of Scotland: And the Highland crooks are conftructed in the same manner as the Devonian.

(g) lib. iv.

(f) lib. xi. c. 41. (g) lib. iv.
(b) The use of butter was certainly aboriginal in this island: The Romans were unacquainted

with it. See Musgrave's Antiqu. Brit. Belg. vol. 1. p. 47, 48.

(i) The South-Britons had long used the spume which arose on the surface of their curmi in fermentation, for rendering their bread light. This the Welsh and the Cornish denominate burm, evidently derived from curmi. And the common people of Devon call yeast by the name of barm to this day. See Sammes, p. 108, 109.
(k) See Wolridge's Vinetum Britannicum, p. 18. (Lond. edit. 1676.)

(1) " But I cannot imagine, what meat that should be which Dio saies they preserved on all occasions, whereof, if they eat but the quantity of a bean, it satisfied their hunger and thirst." Sammes, p. 110.

ftream: It is an expedient, which by no means accorded with the fituation of the western Britons, amidst innumerable springs and rivers. (a)

For their accommodation by night, the Danmonians had a dormitory common to the

whole family, both males and females. (b)

If we pursue the Danmonians from their habitations to the field, we shall see them chiefly occupied by manly exercises. Their principal sports seem to have been hunting, fowling, the baiting of wild beafts, and wreftling and hurling. Hunting and fowling, at first necessary to the subsistence of our colonists, were afterwards continued as mere diver-fions. And our woods were sufficiently stocked with bears and (c) boars and wolves, for the chace: The wild bull was, also, roaming at large. (d) Nor was the red deer less frequent; whilst the segh, now lost in Britain and in Europe, but subsisting in the moose of America, was often hunted in the forests of Devonshire. (e) The dogs which the Britons employed in the chace, are well described by Mr. Whitaker. According to this gentleman, there were five original British dogs; the great houshold dog, the grey-hound, the bull dog, the terrier, and the large slow hound. The last mentioned breed is, at present, almost peculiar to Manchester. But near the close of the last century it was frequent in the fouth-west. It is called at Manchester the southern hound. This hound, large and flow as it is, was once confiderably larger and flower. The boar, the wolf, and the ftag, were all too fleet for its motions. Its genuine object, therefore, must have been some animal as heavy and flow as itself. And that could have been only the British segh or moose. When, therefore, the segh inhabited the forests of Devon, the fegh-dog employed in the pursuit of this enormous animal, was the favorite companion

of the Danmonian hunter. (f)
Of the birds that furnished amusement to the Danmonian sportsman, perhaps the eagle was not unfrequently purfued from height to height. Whillt our woods were deep and extensive enough to afford covert to the eagle, this bird was, undoubtedly, an inhabitant of Devonshire and Cornwall. It hath left its name, indeed, in Killigrew, the grove of eagles: Whence we may presume, that it was once an inmate of the place. The eagle was shot, I suppose, with arrows. But the Danmonians were principally fond of hawking or falconry. Every British chieftain maintained a number of birds for the sport. Offian mentions "a hundred hawks with fluttering wing, that fly across the sky." There is a curious passage in Pliny, where this diversion is described. "In Thraciæ parte super Amphipolim, homines atque accipitres societate quadam aucupantur: bi ex sylvis et harundinetis excitant aves; illi, supervolantes, deprimunt; rursus captas aucupes dividunt cum iis. Traditum est, missas in sublime sibi excipere eos; et, cum tempus sit capturæ, clangore et volatus genere invitare ad occasionem." (g) The Thracians and

(a) Whether any of these springs or rivers were converted by the Aborigines, to the purposes of bathing, or not, is a question which I have examined in the next chapter; where the Roman baths, fo famous in this island, cannot be left unnoticed.

(b) See Genefis, c. xlix. and Beda, 1. 3. c. 27. and Giraldus, p. 888. for the common Welch having their beds upon the ground, and for the Welch and Highlanders lying all in one apartment.

(c) The boar remained in our woods, feveral centuries after the wolf.

(d) Our woods bred a number of wild bulls. The wild bulls and cows were all milk white; all furnished with thick hanging manes like lions, and almost as savage as they. Boetii Scot. Reg. Desc. fol. 6. and Lessæi Hist. p. 18.—The bulls of Augias, in the 25th Idyllium of Theocritus, anfwer very well to this description:

three hundred white-legg'd bulls were fed, (Curl'd their smooth horns) two hundred glossy-red; While, silver as the swan, in gambols run Twelve, chief of all, and facred to the fun! These, in the flowery pastures kept apart, Rush on the mountain beasts that, frequent, dart From their deep thickets on the herd below; Bellowing glance death, and gore the shaggy foe!

(e) Branching horns of a most enormous size, have been found in Devonshire (and other parts of England, and in Ireland, also) the relics of this enormous race of deer. See Nat. Hist. of Devenshire.

(f) See Hist. of Manchester, vol. 2. p. 72. Shakspeare's description of the southern hound, must readily occur to my readers.

(g) Pliny, l. x. c. 8.

the Britons, according to Mr. Whitaker's account, were the only followers of the sport. Among the former, it was pursued merely in a particular district of the country: But, with the latter, it feems to have been univerfal among the barons. (a) And hawking remained the favorite recreation of our gentlemen for many ages. It exists, at present, only in the Highlands. In the mean time, the Gauls, from whom Mr. Whitaker deduces our origin, knew nothing of hawking: They had, probably, never heard of it. Nor was it a sport of the European nations. The Asiatics, however, from whom I have deduced our origin, were univerfally fond of this diversion. In Pilpay, and other eastern writers, hawking is often described. "It happened (fays Pilpay) one day, that Humaiun Fal went out a bunting. The towering hawk, like the arrow discharged from the bow of the archer, directs his flight to the height of heaven. And the falcon, bountiful to the hungry, with bloody talons tears the veins from the throats of the birds." (b) The Arabians, to this day, hunt the rock-goat with the falcon. (c) Falconry, then, of which the Europeans, in general, had no idea, was familiar to the Afiatics: And it was the favorite amusement of the Danmonians. That, "it was imported, therefore, into this country from the east," is a necessary conclusion. And, granting this, who dares pronounce our theory improbable? "An eastern colonization, independent of Europe, feems forcibly prest upon us, from every quarter. And, for the present topic, I cannot but remark, that our love of hawking, notwithstanding the inconveniencies of innumerable hills and vallies ill adapted for the sport, strongly speaks our descent from the eastern nations, whose fine campaign countries may be ranged by the falconer without interruption and with little danger. Among the sports of Danmonium, I have mentioned the baitings of wild animals—a diversion that well accords with the temper of a people just emerged from barbarism: And the amphitheatres of Danmonium, seem to have been occasionally used for this purpose. But wrestling and hurling were the sports, that more peculiarly characterized the Danmonians. "Among the general customs (says (d) Borlase) we must not forget the manly exercises of wrestling and hurling; the former more generally practifed in this county than in any part of England, the latter peculiar to

(a) In the establishment of the British court, we see the head of the FALCONERS ranked among the great officers of state. Howel Dha. l. 1. c. 1. and Florence of Worcester, p. 623, Frankfort edit .- At this day, the Dukes of St. Alban's and Ancaster, are hereditary Chamberlain and Falconer to the King of England.

(b) See the introductory chapter to the Anvar e Soheili, or Fables of Pilpay-translated from the Persian by R. Llewellyn. And see Pilpay's Fables, 4th edit. London printed for J. Rivington,

1766, p. 32, 152, 153, 154.

(c) See Dr. Haffelquist's travels.

(d) Nat. Hist. p. 299, 300. Carezo is more minute in his description of these manly exercises. See period of Henry the 8th, where I have adverted to Carew's description. In his remarks on the ftory of Corineus, we perceive his notion of the Danmonian wreftling. "I am not ignorant (fays Carew) how forely the whole storie of Brute, is shaken by some of our late writers, and how fiffely supported by other some: as also that this WRASTLING PULL between Corineus and Gogmagog, is reported to have befallen at Dover. For mine owne part, though I reverence antiquitie, and reckon it a kind of wrong, to exact an ever-firit reason for all that which upon credite shee delivereth; yet I rather incline to their fide, who would warrant her authentic by apparent veritie. Notwithstanding, in this question, I will not take on me the person of either judge, or stickler: And, therefore, if there bee any plunged in the common floud, as they will still gripe fast, what they have once caught hold on, let them sport themselves with these conjectures, upon which mine averment in behalf of Plymmouth is grounded. The place where Brute is faid to have first landed, was Totnes in Cornwall, and therefore this wrastling likely to have chaunced there sooner than elsewhere. The province bestowed upon Carineus for this exploit, was Cornwall. It may then be presumed, that he received in reward the place where hee made proof of his worth, and whose prince (for so with others I take Gogmagog to have beene) hee had conquered, even as Cyrus recompenced Zopirus with the citie Babylon, which his policie had recovered. Againe, the activitie of Devon and Cornishmen, in this facultie of wrastling, beyond those of other shires, doth seeme to derive them a speciall pedigree, from their graund wrastler Corineus. Moreover, upon the Hawe, at Plymmouth, there is cut out in the ground, the pourtrayture of two men, the one bigger, the other leffer, with clubbes in their hands, whom they terme Gogmagog: And (as I have learned) it is renewed by order of the townesmen, when cause requireth—which should inferre the same to bee a monument of fome moment. And lastly, the place having a steepe cliff adjoyning, affordeth an opportunitie to the fact." Survey of Cornwall, p. 2.

it.(a) The Cornish have been remarkable for their expertness in athletary contentions for many ages, as if they inherited the skill and strength of the first Duke Corinæus, whose same consists chiefly in the reputation he won by wrestling with, and overcoming the giant Gogmagog—a fable perhaps founded five hundred years fince upon the then acknowledged and universal reputation of the people of this county for wrestling. But to leave fables; what should have implanted this custom in such a corner of Britain, and preserved it hitherto in its full vigour, when either never affected at all, or with indifference in other parts of the island, we cannot fay: Certain it is the Grecians, who traded hither for tin, and hither only, had the highest esteem for this exercise. The arts of the Palastra were chiefly cultivated by the Lacedemonians: And yet Plato himself among the Athenians was so far from disapproving the exercise, that he recommends it to the practice of old as well as young women, and thinks it proper for them oftentimes to wrestle with men, that thereby they might become more patient of labor, and learn to struggle with the difficulties incident to a warlike state. The ardor for this exercise fo prevailed at last, that all Greece devoted their time and inclinations to the Gymnasia and Palastra, and chose rather to be accounted the most expert wrestlers, than to be celebrated as the most knowing and valiant commanders. (b) Whether the Cornish borrowed this custom from the Grecians, or whatever else was the cause, you shall hardly any where meet with a party of boys who will not readily entertain you with a specimen of their skill in this profession. Hurling is a trial of skill and activity between two parties of twenty, forty, or any intermediate number; sometimes betwixt two or more parishes, but more usually, and indeed practifed in a more friendly manner, betwixt those of the same parish; for the better understanding which distinction, it must be premised, that betwixt those of the same parish there is a natural connexion supposed, from which (cateris paribus) no one member can depart without forfeiting all esteem. As this unites the inhabitants of a parish, each parish looks upon itself as obliged to contend for its own fame, and oppose the pretensions, and superiority of its neighbours. It is so termed from throwing or burling a ball, which is a round piece of timber, (about three inches diameter) covered with plated filver, fometimes gilt. It has usually a motto in the Cornish tongue alluding to the pastime, as Guare wheag, yw Guare teag, that is, fair play is good play. Upon catching this ball dexteroully when it is dealt, and carrying it off expeditiously, notwithstanding all the opposition of the adverse party, success depends. This exercise requires force and nimbleness of hand, a quick eye, swiftness of foot, skill in wrestling, strength and breath to preserve in running, address to deceive and evade the enemy, and judgment to deliver the ball into proper hands, as occasion shall offer: in fhort, a pastime that kindles emulation in the youngest breast, and like this requires so general an exertion of all the faculties of the body, cannot but be of great use to supple, strengthen, and particularly tend to prepare it for all the exercises of the camp."

From those vigorous exercises of the Danmonians, the transition is easy to their more serious contests on the field of battle; where we may cursorily survey their warlike apparatus. The Danmonian foot are represented as remarkably swift; and never encumbered with armour, from which they could not easily disengage themselves. (c) The Danmonian chief was accustomed to communicate his instructions to his soldiers, by the striking of a spear against his shield. Cathmor's shield had seven principal bosses, the sound of each of which, when struck with a spear, conveyed a particular order from the king to his tribes. "He struck that warning boss, wherein dwelt the voice of war." On their cavalry the Danmonians prided themselves: And the Britons, in general, were famous for their skill in horsemanship. Julius Cæsar sound the Britons plentifully provided with horses: And these horses were so well disciplined as to excite both the terror and the admiration

<sup>(</sup>a) Borlase, speaking in this manner of Cornwall, means Danmonium, or Devonshire and Cornwall. The old topographers generally include the both counties under the appellation of Cornwall. With respect to wrestling and hurling, they were, undoubtedly, as common in former times, on the east as on the west side of the Tamar.

<sup>(</sup>b) Alex. ab Alexandro, lib. ii. vol. 1. page 494.
(c) "The Britains were very swift, neither did they encumber themselves with any armour, which they could not at pleasure sling away. They had a shield and a short spear, in the nether part whereof hung a bell, by the shaking of which they thought to affright and amaze their enemies. They used daggers also, and girded their swords to their sides by an iron chain." Mag. Brit. p. 144

admiration of the Romans. The necks of the Danmonian garrons were frequently ornamented with collars, and their manes decorated with strings of British pearls. (a) Several of the eastern nations were fond of displaying the spirit of their high-mettled steeds: And the dexterous management of the horse, seems to have characterized, in an equal degree, both Persia and Danmonium. Of the war-chariot, I have already given a description: We have here to consider chiefly the Danmonian mode of fighting from the war-chariot. The British chariots had their wheels frequently furnished with scythes; were always drawn by two horses, and carried sometimes two persons, the driver and the warrior, and sometimes only one. And the British manner of fighting (as we have feen) was totally different from that of the continent; and so new to the Romans, as to terrify Cæfar's army, and occasion his defeat. Herodotus tells us, that in the army of Ninus, there were two hundred thousand horses, and of feythed chariots above ten thousand. So that the feythed chariots of war were used in the first ages after the flood: And they were introduced into Danmonium by our first Asiatic colonies. (b)

And the Phenicians must have been acquainted with the chariot of war, before they discovered our island. "The combined nations that came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to fight against Israel, were even as the fand that is upon the sea-shore in multitude, with borses and CHARIOTS." "Now Joshua was old and stricken in years; and the Lord faid unto him: There remaineth yet very much land to be poffest-from the fouth all the land of the Canaanites—and all the Sidonians—them will I drive out from before the children of Israel. And the children of Israel faid: The hill is not enough for us: And all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley, have CHA-RIOTS OF IRON; both they who are of Bethshean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel. And Joshua spake unto the children of Israel: The mountain shall be thine; and the outgoings of it shall be thine: For thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have IRON CHARIOTS; and though they be firong. And the children of Judah went down to fight against the Canaanites (after the death of Joshua) that were in the mountain, and in the fouth, and in the valley. And the Lord was with Judah; and he drove out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron." Such were the multitudes of war-chariots in the hofts of the Canaanites and the Sidonians: And to the descendants of these people the same kind of vehicles must have been familiar, when they reached the shores of Danmonium. (c) That the Greeks used the war-chariot, very anciently, is plain from Diodorus; who tells us, that the Britons lived after the manner of the old aworld; and that they used chariots in fight, like the ancient Greeks at the Trojan war. (d)

(a) Borlase's Coins, No. 12, 19, 20, and 22. and Ossian, vol. 1. p. 11.
(b) Of the island of Panchaia, lying off the coast of Arabia, Diodorus calls the inhabitants αυίοχθονες, and notices their war-chariot, also, similar to that of the Danmonians. Είναι δε τος

ανδεας πολεμικες, και αεμασι χεησθαι κάλατας μαχας αεχαικως. Diod. Well: tom. 1. p. 367.

(c) The vast number of these chariots in the armies both of the Canaanites and Britons, is a striking circumstance. "Sisera gathered together all his chariots—even nine hundred chariots of iron." And the war-chariots of Cassibelaunus amount to four the British chariot brings into our thoughts the horses and chariots of Ægypt, mentioned in earliest days. The Tyrian Hercules, who, I suppose, might bring the first oriental colony hither, was a king in Ægypt. In scripture, when Joseph was prime minister there, we find chariots frequently mentioned, both for civil and military uses. In Josbua's time, the Canaanites, Rephaim or giants, and Perizzites had them : So the Philistines. Our ancestors, the Britons, coming both from Ægypt and Canaan, brought hither the use of chariots: And they remained, in a manner, fingular and proper to our island, to the time that the Romans peopled it. And it was fashionable for the Romans at Rome, in the height of their luxury, to have British chariots, as we now Berlins, Landaus, and the like.

Esseda cælatis siste Britanne, jugis."

Collinson's Beauties of British Antiqu. p. 28, 29.

(a) Richard thus describes the British mode of fighting: "Genus hoc erat ex essedis pugnæ, ut Cæfar in IV. narrat. primo per omnes partes perequitant, & tela conjiciunt, ac ipfo terrore equorum, & strepitu rotarum, ordines plerumque perturbant: & quum se inter equitum turmas infinuavere, ex essedis desiliunt & pedibus dispari prœlio contendunt. Aurigæ interim paululum è prœlio excedunt, atque ita se collocant, ut, si illi à multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in præliis præstant; ac tantum usu quotiWith respect to our Belgic colonists, if they really used the military car, they clearly borrowed it from the Aborigines. "The celt and the military chariot, says Mr. Whitaker, were introduced into the island with the first inhabiters of it. At the arrival of Cæsar, the use of the chariot was universal in Britain, and formed one of the discriminating marks in the national character of the natives." "At the arrival of Cæsar, also (Mr. Whitaker confesses) a few Gaulish tribes only used the military car." curious point; which is worth examining for a few moments. From Mr. Whitaker's statement of the case, then, which is exactly agreeable to the truth of history, are we to conclude that the celt and the car were derived from the Gauls to the Britons, or from the Britons to the Gauls? Mr. Whitaker afferts the first; intimating, "that the use of them in Gaul was gradually worn out." (a) But, if the celt and the car had been originally used by all the inhabitants of Gaul, why should they have almost disappeared on the continent, in Cæsar's time, and have remained common in this country? The celt was frequent long after Cæsar, in Danmonium, in Scotland, and in Ireland: And I need not remind my readers of Cuthullin's car. Mr. Whitaker brings the first colony from Gaul into Britain, about one thousand years before Cæfar. At this juncture, the continental Gauls must have used the war-chariot universally: Otherwise, Mr. Whitaker's colony, the island Gauls, who are supposed to have emigrated from different parts of the continent, could not have been all alike acquainted with the car, and have introduced it where-ever they fettled, whether in Danmonium, or Ireland or the Highlands. Notwithstanding, however, this universality of the car in Gaul, this vehicle was almost unknown there, after the lapse of a thousand years. But, at the end of the same period, it was as common in Britain as at first. How can we satisfactorily account for this great difference? Surely the car was introduced from this island into Gaul: (b) and not long before the time of Cæsar. The following observations, I think, may form a clue, to guide us through the intricacies of the question. Where declining customs have prevailed univerfally, the remains of them will as univerfally appear. We shall detect them in various places and situations. Wherever we go, their evanescent colors will momentarily catch the eye: And these colors will be fcattered and feeble. This is the case with every declining custom that has once been general. But, where customs or fashions are just beginning to be imitated by one people from another, the imitators, betrayed into extravagance by their fondness for novelties, instead of faintly copying the original, represent it strongly, though not perhaps justly. If this idea may be illustrated by a familiar example, I should instance the conduct of a little country town-which invariably exhibits a new fashion just introduced from the metropolis, in all the glare of tawdriness of which it is capable; and rather than suffer it to fall short of its fancied splendor, caricatures it in colors the most ridiculous. Let us apply these observations to the point of the military car. If the Gauls, as Mr. Whitaker supposes, at first "used the war-chariot universally," and if the "use of this vehicle were beginning to wear out," we should, doubtless, find, where-ever the usage existed, the relics of it scattered and faint. But, if the chariot were just introduced into Gaul, we should discover it among a few tribes, who had recently imported it from our island, and we should detect it, perhaps, on the continent in situations absolutely new, whilst other uses would be superadded to its original design. Now,

diano, & exercitatione efficiunt, ut in declivi, ac præcipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, & brevi moderari, ac flectere, & per temonem percurrere, & in jugo insistere, & inde se in currus citissimè recipere consueverint. Equestris autem prœlii ratio, & cedentibus & insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat. accedebat huc, ut nunquam conferti, sed rari, magnisque intervallis prœliarentur, stationesque dispositas haberent, atque alios alii deinceps exciperent, integrique & recentes defatigatis succederent, utebantur & telis." p. 6, 7. This contains the substance of the descriptions to which we are commonly referred in Cæsar, and Tacitus and Mela. The description of Cuthullin's car has been already quoted from Macpherson's Ossian. In a poem, entitled "Ossian departing to his fathers," an allusion to it is thus introduced:

I saw Cuthullin's car, the flame of death, As Swaran darken'd, like a roaring flood: I faw his high-maned courfers spurn the heath,

Snort o'er the slain, and bathe their hoofs in blood.

See "Poems by Gentlemen of Devon and Cornwall," vol. 1. p. 150.

(a) Thus, also, he states the case of the British religion. Yet the Gauls repaired to this issand, when the stream of their religion failed, as to the fountain-head, whence it sprung.

(b) It was probably introduced, foon after the opening of our trade with the continent.

Now, we find, from several ancient writers, that a few Gaulish tribes only, used the car. It was not casually observed, here and there, in different and distant parts of Gaul: The use of it was not scattered or promiscuous; but a few tribes of Gaul used the war-chariot, in contradistinction to the other numerous tribes, who did not use it at all. Neither Cæsar nor his foldiers, though they had traversed a very large part of Gaul, had ever seen in Gaul a military car. They were startled at the appearance of the British car. If they had feen one car only in Gaul, they could not have been struck with terror or astonishment at the reappearance of the same kind of vehicle, in Britain. As to the few Gaulish tribes who used the car, let me add another circumstance, which coincides most happily with the general position: "those tribes (we are told) used the car equally for the journey and the fight." They were not content with the original use of this car. The Britons, from whom they had borrowed it, still appropriated it to military purposes. But this was not enough for the imitators. Captivated by its novelty, they applied it to other purposes: They used it, in peace as well as in war—on the road, as travellers, as well as in the field, as foldiers. (a) These are facts; to the truth of which Mr. Whitaker affents. Have we not here, then, a decifive proof that the use of the car in Gaul, was a fashion just imported? If it had ever been universal, and was now beginning to be dropt, is there not reason to wonder, that those tribes, who are supposed to retain the custom, should retain it with an obstinacy so strong, the very moment when their countrymen had totally abandoned it? In what manner shall we account for this strange—this singular contrast? State it as a new fashion-and all difficulties will be done away-all doubts will instantly vanish: It was looked on, as an innovation by the Gaulish tribes in general: It was regarded as yet, with a jealous eye. But state it as an antiquated custom; and I again ask, is there a circumstance in the whole volume of history, more extraordinary—is there any thing in fable more incredible, than that the greater part of the Gauls, should have loft every vestige, even the faintest trace, of a usage transmitted immemorially, from age to age; whilst the remaining part should have grasped it, with a tenaciousness so persevering? Can we believe, that mouldered as it was all around them into atoms, those few tribes could have displayed it fresh and vigorous?—But, enough: abruptness is better than tediousness.

The last particular which I shall notice, is the mode of burying the dead, or the rites of sepulture in Danmonium. The primitive mode of burial was that of configning the body entire to the ground. In this manner were the heroes of Ossan buried. But, to reduce the body to ashes, and then interr it, seems to have been, very soon, the practice in Danmonium. Under both forms, the body was either deposited in a cavity, or laid upon the surface of the ground; when a barrow was constructed over it. The ashes, however, of burnt bodies, and the bones in particular, were usually collected and put into urns. And, in various parts of Devonshire, both the barrow and the urn still detain for a moment the curious eye. It was usual to bury with the body what the deceased in his life-time most regarded. Hence their bow and their sword, the horn of their hunting, and a boss of their shield, are so often laid with the warriors of Ossan, "in the dark and narrow house of the grave." And the broken remains of swords, some half-melted by the funeral fire, have frequently been found in the barrows of the British warriors, in Danmonium. The celt, also, which (b) was an aboriginal instrument, introduced from the east, hath been often discovered in the sepulchres of the Britons. In the sacred writings, there is a striking passage, which proves that this custom was oriental. Ezekiel, prophetically exulting over the fallen armies of the Persans and other neighbouring nations, cries out: "They shall not lie with their weapons of war; and they have laid their swords under their heads!" It may be worthy of remark, that so early as the British period, a suicide was buried at the intersection of two highways: And the passagers threw stones upon his grave, till they had raised a considerable heap over it. Thus Hector wishes Paris to have a cairn over him; or to be clad in a coat of stone--(c) Aanov esoso

(c) Dollard, b. 230 and 2330

<sup>(</sup>a) See Strabo, p. 306. Frontinus's Stratagem. l. 1. c. 33. and Diodorus, p. 342. Wesseling. (b) Borlase, p. 238 and 239. (c) Iliad, l. 3.

and Wales: (a) And in Scotland, the custom of throwing stones on the corpse of the person who dies suddenly in the field or on the road, is still religiously observed. (b)

Thus have I inspected a few leading traits in the character of the Danmonians, chiefly

as illustrated by their manners and customs.

And, on this view, also, it appears, that the aboriginal Danmonians came not from the continent of Europe; fince far different manners and cultoms characterized the other inhabitants of Britain, who emigrated long afterwards from Gaul. We may, therefore, conclude, that the first inhabitants of the Southams, instead of being a colony from Gaul, made their fettlements there, independent on the neighbouring continent. From their retaining fo lively an impression of the Asiatic fashions and usages, we may also infer, that they advanced hither with the greatest expedition, and, probably, reached this island very foon after the dispersion. For had they migrated by flow degrees, and settled here after the lapse of many ages, they would have brought with them very few of their original manners or customs. (c)

But

(a) Ware, Harris p. 142. and Mona, p. 214.
(b) In the four parishes of Redruth, Gwennap, Kenwyn, and St. Agnes, where the four western hundreds of Cornwall unite in a point, there is a barren heathy spot, called Kyvur an Kou, or the place of death. Here all felf-murderers, belonging to the adjacent parishes, are deposited. And this has been, from time immemorial, the spot appropriated for suicides. Perhaps there is not so

remarkable a place of this kind in any other part of the island.

- (c) To this argument, Mr. Whitaker replies, in a letter to the author: " If the Britons came, in the course of progressive migrations, from east to west, from Asia into Europe, and from Gaul into Britain; you think they would have loft the character of their original country in the long interval of fuccessive movements: And yet they did not-you apprehend; 'as their manners and usages bore a very near resemblance to those of the Asiaticks.' I know or no such resemblance. There is only a refemblance that was fure to arise where the origin was common, and that exists between all the nations of the globe, in consequence of their common origin-Qualem decet effe fororum. The most striking part of this refemblance between the Asiaticks and the Britons, is the use of military cars. Yet the use of them was equally common to the (1) Ægyptians and the Britons. And in these arguments from refemblance, we deceive ourselves, I think, by taking general similarities for particular, by confidering human characters (if I may fo express myself) as national characteristicks, and by fo proving an origin to be analogically true, which is historically falfe,"
- (1) Common, undoubtedly, to the Ægyptians and the Britons; a fact that favours my hypothesis. For who were the Ægyptians? The following curious analysis will shew us who the Ægyptians were. It was found among Badcock's MSS. and it is in the handwriting of Dr. White. It is the very outline, indeed, of the projected Ægyptian history, in the composition of which Mr. Badcock had engaged to assist Dr. White. And, to give Mr. B. an idea of the plan, Dr. W. had hastily thrown together the following hints-hints, which differer fo perfect an acquaintance with the subject, and which are express with so much perspiculty that I shall hope to be excused the liberty I take in printing them. The language, indeed, of the analysis, is flowing and elegant; nor can I help adding, that it brings to my mind the belt part of White's Bamptonlectures. "There is no doubt of the great antiquity of Egypt, as a regular Empire; and every thing confpires to shew that it was the first country of the world, which was improved. It is to be considered, then, as the mother of civilization; as the feene in which the powers of the human mind first began to display themselves, in the foundation of government, the acquisition of knowledge, and the investigation of truth. It is therefore a curious and important enquiry, what are the causes which have given to Egypt this fingular diffinction, and given it the lead in the history of human improvements. These causes may perhaps be found in the nature of the country itself. However doubtful it may be, where the remnant of the human race fettled after the deluge, it feems in general to be admitted, that it was fome where in Arabia. Defcription of the foil and climate of Arabia. Particularly adapted to passurage. Not so to agriculture; from the want of water, The fame want naturally rendered the inhabitants migratory, for the supply of their flocks, &c. In such a situation men could not increase fast. Immense territories were necessary for the subsistence of small hordes, and not communities of any extent. From these causes their improvement must have been slow, and their progress short. The knowledge which their flate demanded was foon acquired. Their cares were confined to the charge of their flocks: and as their foil and climate offered them no other manner of fublishence, their invention was naturally confined within that parrow fphere. No divisions of rank, or great inequalities of fortune could take place. The science of government therefore, must have remained unknown, and the form of it naturally continued in that patriarchal state, in which it is at first found. Illustration of this from the modern state of the Arabians: the description of their ancestors in the books of Moses, is still applicable to them; and after the lapfe of fo many ages, they feem to have advanced little from that flate of nature, in which we first find them. While men therefore remained in this climate, and under these circumstances, impossible that they should make any material advances in civilization. It is now, also, impossible to trace, what were the causes which led them from Arabia into Egypt-whether war, or conquest, or what is most probable, their natural disposition to migration. Whatever it was, great difference in the nature of the country, from that which they had formerly inhabited .- Description of the foil and climate, &c. of Egypt. Of the Nile, and its phenomena.—This country ill fuited to the passoral state, from the overslowing of the river; but favourable peculiarly to agriculture. Impossible, that they should not perceive the fruitfulness of the foil, and the fupply it afforded for the wants of men. Agriculture rendered them stationary; introduced the

But I do not rest my argument on the resemblance of the Aborigines to the eastern nations, in this particular only: Review the whole chapter; and mark the circumstantial evidence on which it is founded. That the settlers in this island, were not a colony from Gaul, has been proved, on every view of the subject. And the vulgar theory of the original European plantations, would be abandoned, I think, on all hands, after a candid and liberal investigation of it. To such an investigation I should be happy to excite the learned. From the dubiousness of the common theory, I had a right to form a new hypothesis. And I have imagined a rapid emigration to these islands, for the most part by sea, from Armenia or one of the neighbouring countries. I have not grounded my supposition on the sole authority of the Saxon Chronicle. The Saxon Chronicle is one of its weakest supports. The evidence of Cæsar himself, is strong in my favor: And the voice of the Greck historians and geographers is still more decisive. But the character of the orientals, so strikingly contrasted with that of the Europeans, and yet according with that of the aboriginal Danmonii, seems aimost to determine the controversy. The orientals, at the time of their first emigration into different countries, were imprest with various traits of character; such as we have discovered in their modes of settlement, their civil government, their religion, their commercial communications, their language and learning, their genius and their customs. The wandering spirit and (a) patriarchal policy of Armenia

(a) According to Monfieur D' Ancarville, this mode of government was Cutbite. "The Scythians (fays he) were a wife and politic people: Having conquered Afia, they imposed a tribute so light, that it was rather an acknowledgment of their conquest, than an impost. Asia was then a field depending on Scythia: It was the first state governed by this kind of constitution: and here may be discovered the origin of the feudal system, brought into Europe, by the descendants of these very Scythians. The law terms, used by the ancient Irish, for feud, and every other word appertaining thereto, are Arabic, or Chaldwan; but chiefly the first."

idea of property in land; afforded the means of subsistence to an infinitely greater number of men, than the same portion of territory in pasturage. The increase of population led to the division of employments, and opened a wide field for invention in the arts. Hence the foundation of cities, the division of ranks (introduced by the inequalities of property) the beginning of commerce, and the great outlines of regular government. While the rest of the inhabitants of the globe, in this early period, were wandering in hordes through Arabia, the citizens of Egypt were led by the nature of their foil and climate, to establish themselves in a fixed territory; to cultivate the ground instead of living by their slocks; and in confequence of this difference of fituation and employment, were gradually advancing in improvement, in population, in fubordination, and in laying the foundations of future greatness. Egypt was therefore naturally the mother country of improvement: because it was the country which first led men to fettle; in which agriculture was first practifed; in which the number and the diverfities of property among men, first called for the establishment of regular government; and in which the extent of population first gave rife to the various arts, which an extensive population requires. The nature of the climate and foil of Egypt, may therefore be confidered as the cause of its being the mother of civilization, and of its taking the lead in the history of human improvements. Tho' we can thus, perhaps, with some probability assign the cause of the early eivilization of Egypt, yet we are altogether at a lofs, when we enquire into the period, when this improvement began. The first ages of the history of this country, covered with impenetrable darkness: and so far from being able to trace the progress of improvement in it, the first credible accounts which are come down to us commence with the period of its greatest refinement: We fay, the first credible accounts, because there are not wanting writers, who ascribe to Egypt an antiquity utterly incredible .- Account of the Ægyptian claims to antiquity. Infufficiency of these claims demonstrable .- 1fi. from their total want of coincidence with the universal history of mankind; there being no appearance that the earth was inhabited previous to the time affigned by Mofes. 2dly, From their want of correspondence with our uniform experience of the manner in which population is extended men being always found to encrease in proportion to the means of subsidence; and to spread themselves in an infinitely smaller space of time than the Egyptian chronology arrogates, round the common centre from which they fprung. If the Egyptian claims therefore were true, the whole earth ought to have been fully peopled, many thousand years before the first æra of history commences. The real history of the population of the earth, on the contrary, accords perfectly well with the period of the deluge, and affords a firong proof, that a more diffant zera cannot be true. 3dly, From the history of arts, fciences, &c. which upon the Egyptian supposition, ought to have made great progrefs, and to have been generally diffused among mankind long before we know that they were. 4thly, From the progrefs of the Egyptians themselves in the sciences and arts; which, however great, is no more than might naturally have taken place in the long period that intervenes between the æra of the deluge, and the first certain accounts we have from other nations of their police and inflitutions. These arguments may be thought sufficiently conclusive against the Egyptian pretensions in particular. It may ftill however be urged in their favor, that other nations have made the fame pretentions: and that therefore there is a general concurrence of opinion, which, as it hath prevailed in different ages and in different countries, may be thought to militate against the Mosaic system. It is therefore necessary to subjoin a brief consutation of these opinions; which may perhaps be classed under these three heads. First, the opinion of those who rest their arguments on ancient records, fuch as Sanconiatho, Berofus, the Chinefe, and Indians. Secondly, of those who argue from the advanced flate of the arts in particular countries, as in Peru. And thirdly, of those who argue from the appearances of nature, as Brydone. The confutation of these pretentions, and particularly of the Egyptian, supplies a proper basis, on which we may establish the truth of the Mosaic history: and in the prosecution of this enquiry, we shall find, that as the former betray evident marks of falfhood and imposture, whether we consider their internal or external evidence, so the latter is recommended by every argument, of which the fubject is capable. Summary view of the arguments in favor of the Mosaje æra of the creation and of the deluge."

Armenia and Arabia, and the religious peculiarities of Persia and of India, were originally fixed to one spot. And, at the time of their first colonial separation, these characteristic lines were equally discernible in the Armenians, the Arabs, the Persians, and the Indians. At this crifis was kindled the flame of adventurous colonization: At this crifis the orientals emigrated to Danmonium: And, whilst the Armenians and the Arabs were nationally distinguished by one part of the primitive eastern character, and the Persians and Indians by another, the Danmonians feem to have retained the leading features of the whole. (a)

(a) Whilft I was revifing the proof of this very sheet, the two following letters were communicated to me. They (1) were addressed to the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, in answer to a query which I had proposed, (2) in that excellent miscellany, on the topic of the Armenian emigration. And, I think, they may, with propriety, appear at the close of this chapter, as in some measure a recapitulation of it. The first letter signed T. E. is written in support of the old theory:

Exeter, January 9th, 1791. I trouble you with an answer to R. P's question concerning the fignification of that paffage of the Saxon Chronicle, which fays that the Britons came from Armenia. I shall attempt to prove, in the first place, that it is a missake in the Chronicle; and secondly, to show whence they really came. Cæsar says, in the 5th book of his war in Gaul, "Brittanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, (3) quos natos in infula ipsa, memoria proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant." Thus we see that the inhabitants of the maritime parts were descended from the Belgæ. The natives of the interiour country therefore must be meant by the Chronicle. Now the Armenians were beyond doubt a Gothic or Scythian nation, and consequently their (4) language must have been widely different from the Belgie, because the latter was Celtic. have never heard that there was at that time more (5) than one tongue used in Britain, whereas if the inward parts had been peopled from a Gothic, and the maritime from a Celtic nation, there must have been two. Reason will inform us, that people who come from countries far distant one from the other, must have different languages: now as this was not the case with the Britons, who had only one, (6) we must conclude that they were but one nation. And that this nation came from Armenia, is hardly credible. If they did migrate from thence, it must have been in very (7) ancient times, when they were at least as (8) rude and uncivilized as they were in the days of Cæsar; and from the description he gives of them, we can scarcely believe that a people so (9) destitute of almost every art, could have undertaken and performed fo very long and hazardous a journey. This is, I hope, fufficient to prove a mistake in the Saxon Chronicle. Secondly, the place from whence they came, must be Gaul. Now for this we have the authority of both (10) Casar and Bede, though they differ about the precise place; the first making them come (11) from the Belgæ, the latter from the Armoricans. Bede appears to be the more respectable authority, (12) and to have had the greatest opportunities of coming at the truth, whereas we all know, (13) that Cæfar had little or no acquaintance with the inhabitants of this island. Now Cæsar, when he mentions the "maritima pars," must mean the fouthern, as that was the only part he was acquainted with; and the Chronicle (14) expressly speaks of the southern coast. This coast being the nearest to Gaul, appears to have been peopled from Armorica, allowing Bede to be (15) better authority than Cafar, and because the language of Brittany is at this very time a dialect of the Welch, though it may be (16) objected that the Britons carried their language there with them, when they fled from the Saxons in the fifth century. But as the Britons did not immediately fettle in Armorica, but roamed up and down in various parts, it is very probable, nay almost certain, (17) that the reason of their settling there, was because they found the customs and language of the country similar to their own; otherwise they would not have chosen it, for they could have found far more fertile tracts in any of the other provinces on that coast. All

(2) See queries in the Gentleman's Magazine, for December, 1791, p. 1120. (1) But not printed.

(3) Our island fathers are thus strongly contradistinguished—two races of beings, as different in every respect, as the

English and the Otaheitans, at the present moment.

(6) But the premises are false. (7) True. (8) The Britons were not rude and uncivilized in the days of Cæfar. (9) The contrary of this would approach nearer to the truth. See Whitaker's Manchester, and Genuine History of the itons afferted. (10) Cæfar's authority: Where? quos natos in infula ipfa—Is this Cæfar's authority? (11) Here the two races of Britons are jumbled together. (12) More respectable than Cæfar? Britons afferted.

(13) I confess I scarcely understand this. Cæsar conversed with the Britons whom he describes. He was at least acquainted with one race of the Britons. Had Bede any "such opportunities of coming at the truth?" Does T. E. imagine that Bede was a contemporary of Julius Cæfar?

(14) Yet T. E. just before observed, that "the natives of the interiour country must be meant by the Chronicle." (15) No-not for a moment. (16) And the objection is unfurmountable. (17) It would be impossible to prove this.

aglish and the Otaheitans, at the present moment. (4) So it unquestionably was.
(5) Often have we heard, that there was more than one tongue used at that time in Britain. Bede declares that the divinity was worshipped among us in the languages of five different people, the Angles, the Britons, the Piels, the Scots, and the Latins; which perfectly agrees with the Saxon Chronicle, where five nations are faid to inhabit Britain-the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Bockdene, or the Romans. See Bede's Hift. c. 1. 1. 1. and Saxon Chronicle.

bistories of credit agree (18) that they were originally of Gaul, excepting the Saxon Chronicle, the beginning of which seems to be taken from Bede; for which reason I am inclined to think it the fault of the transcriber. What has been said, is, I believe, enough to prove, that the original country of the Britons was not Armenia, but Armorica. I am forry to have troubled you, Sir, with so long a letter, and hope you will excuse it, as the subject is of consequence towards illustrating the history of Devon.

I am yours, &c.

T. E.

The second letter, signed T. Y. L. contains several arguments in favor of my hypothesis.

Exeter, 17th January, 1792. In answer to Mr. Polwhele's question concerning the Saxon Chronicle, which Mr. Urban, speaks of the settlement of the Armenians in the south part of this island, I must beg leave to observe, that the history of the original inhabitants of this island is so very obscure, that after the strictest and most remote searches, we are obliged to rely for the far greater part of our information on probability and conjecture. Although, therefore, the facts on which the following observations are founded may be confidered as wanting historic proof, yet it is hoped they will be allowed in some measure to answer the question before us, and tend to elucidate a passage somewhat obscure in a very ancient and venerable register of our nation. Armenia, I apprehend, was a large district, comprehending the modern Turcomania and part of Persia: It is a country famous for being the first inhabited of the world: And in this region the great Babylon is thought to have flood; for we are certain that this was the residence of Noah and his descendants, for a considerable time after the flood, and that from hence it was they migrated, on the confusion of tongues, and subsequent dispersion of mankind. But the descendants of Japhet, from whom the western nations are considered as derived, although they fent out colonies, yet still retained possession of this their former residence, and Asia minor, which perhaps was all included by them under the name of Armenia. If this be admitted, there cannot remain a doubt of their being the founders of Troy. Thus then we fee the Trojans might fairly deduce their origin from Armenia. Now there is a well known tradition concerning the first inhabitants of this island, that Brutus, a Trojan, great grandson of Æneas, having by chance killed his father in hunting, was obliged to fly into Greece, and having fojourned there for fome time, and being admonished by an oracle, he with other Trojan fugitives, travelled from thence into Britain. That this was a generally received opinion amongst our ancestors, we may gather from the number of authors who have adopted it. Others, it is true, have regarded it as a fiction of Geoffry of Monmouth; but that he was not the inventor, is plain from its being mentioned by Nennius, who flourished upwards of three hundred years before: and Sigebertus Gemblasensis, who preceded Geoffry by one hundred years, particularly describes the passing of the Trojans through Gaul, in their way into Britain, and the city which Brutus there built. It is to this circumstance of their paffing through Gaul, that we are to attribute what Bede fays, concerning the Britains coming from Armorica. Armorica was the ancient name of that part of France which is now called Bretagne, and probably was confidered as the country from which Brutus took his departure for Britain. Nor have there been wanting poets to celebrate this expedition; amongst whom, our countryman Josephus Iscanus makes no inconsiderable figure.

His Brutus avito
Sanguine Trojanus patriis egressus ab oris
Post casus varios confedit finibus, orbem
Fatalem nactus, debellatorque gigantum
Et terræ victor nomen dedit.

I do not recollect in any other history besides the Saxon Chronicle, mention being made of the Britons as coming immediately from Armenia, but we see it was by no means uncommon to derive them from a country bordering on and originally peopled from Armenia. I am well aware of the many objections that are brought against this account. It may appear to be somewhat improbable. It was not mentioned here with a view to establish its authenticity: But considering it altogether as a section, still it affords us grounds sufficient to authorize a conjecture, that this tradition concerning the Aborigines of our island having prevailed among the natives, and been received by many authors into their histories, the passage in the Saxon Chronicle under consideration, refers to it and is grounded thereon. The Britons, if we regard them as a colony of the Cimbri or Cimmerii, descendants of Gomer, may possibly appear to have a more immediate connection with Armenia; but I do not believe this idea to have been general previous to the reign of Elizabeth, when Mr. Camden published it in his Britannia, and consequently the writer of the Saxon Chronicle could not allude to it. As to their settling first in the southern parts of this island, there can be but little doubt; for even to this day it is the custom for people whenever they land on a country unexplored, although they send out parties continually for the sake of making discoveries, yet to establish their colony in those parts where they first landed. The southern part of Britain is the nearest of any to the continent, and of course first attracted the notice of those who possesses that Cornwall was looked upon as the place of their first settlement. An antient author has from hence derived the appellation of Britannia prima,

by which the fouth of Britain was formerly distinguished; and I am inclined to think, notwithe standing what Mr. Camden and others have faid, that Cornwall owes its name in great measure to this tradition: for we find the western parts (by which we must understand the fouth western) affigned to Corineus, a companion of Brutus, and Brutus himself proceeding eastward into Kent, where he is supposed to have erected his kingdom: Prima dicta est pars occidentalis insulæ quia primum in illa Britones Bruto & Corineo ducibus applicuerunt, eaque primo a Corineo et fuis & occupata est & habitata. Britannia secur da Cantia quia secundo a Bruto & suis inhabitata suit. In the time of Julius Cæfar, we are told that the sea-coasts of Britain were inhabited by a set of Belgic freebooters, who had passed from the continent over hither, for the sake of plunder, and dispossessed the Aborigines, whom they had driven to the innermost parts of the island. This has been made use of by some as an argument to prove that the first inhabitants of Britain were of Gallic extraction : but confidering the time in which Cæfar wrote, and that he speaks of a more ancient race inhabiting the inner country, I think that it only tends to shew that the custom of pirating (afterwards carried to fuch length by the Danes and others) even then existed, and in those parts was attended with I am, Sir, yours, &c. T. Y. L. (1) confiderable fuccess.

As I take leave of these speculations, I cannot but remind my readers of Sir WILLIAM JONES; referring them to the fecond volume of his ASIATIC RESEARCHES; where is one idea in particular, fuggested by the learned president, which I have already noticed, and which must have left, I think, an impression in favor of our oriental hypothesis. I cannot but repeat it. "The Saxon Chronicle (fays Sir William) brings the first inhabitants of Britain from Armenia; while a late very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious refearches, that the Goths or Scythians came from Perfia; and another contends, with great force, that both the Irish and old Britons proceeded, severally, from the borders of the Caspian; a coincidence of conclusions, from different media, by persons wbolly unconnected, which could scarce have happened, if they were not grounded on solid principles." And Sir William Jones's conclusions, from a still different medium, fall in with the rest, to establish the point. Nor should it be diffembled, that Dr. Borlaje's parallel between the Persians and the Aborigines of this island, had long excited in my mind the frongest suspicion of their affinity; though the Doctor was tracing their features of resemblance with very different sentiments. That the religion of the Druids, in particular, almost the same as that of the Magi, had its origin in Britain, I always confidered as a very abfurd supposition, notwithstanding the specious arguments of Dr. Borlafe: I could not but conceive, that, to the most incurious observer, it must wear the appearance of orientalism. Who, indeed, on a fair view of the subject, can imagine the Damnonians to have been originally Gaulish, and the Druids a priesthood formed in Britain out of those Gaulish emigrators? Who, with fuch a dejected idea of the Druids,

Could haunt, in rapture, CORNWALL's wizard caves, Or wander thro' the faery-peopled vales
Of Devon, where posterity retains
Some vein of that old minstrelfy, which breath'd
Thro' each time-honor'd grove of British oak.
There, where the spreading confecrated boughs
Fed the sage misletoe, the holy Druids
Lay wrapt in moral musings; while the bards
Call'd from their solemn harps such losty airs,
As drew down fancy from the realms of light,
To paint some radiant vision on their minds,
Of high mysterious import.

In short, that the Danmonians were an eastern race, appeared to me more than probable, before I had read a syllable of the Saxon Chronicle, or knew that a passage existed there, relating to Armenia or South Scythia; before I had the slightest acquaintance with either Bryant or Vallancey; before Pinkerton had published his admirable book, or Sir William Jones had formed his literary society in India. Thus preposes, it was with real satisfaction, that I received notices from SIR GEORGE YONGE, relating to an eastern colony, soon after I had turned my attention to the History of Devonshire. And my right bonourable correspondent had settled his theory, unconnected with the opinions and independent on the disquisitions of others—formed from his comprehensive view of men and manners—original in his own enlightened mind!

(1) I know nothing of the letter-writers: Nor can I guess who they are.

